L. B. Lucas

1914

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

Gift of
Mrs. Leonora B. Lucas

READINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

READINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THE text-book *American History*, written for the use of high schools by A. H. Sanford and myself, includes, as a portion of the bibliographical material connected with each chapter, *Readings in American History*. The present volume is the fulfillment of the promise that a limited number of sources would be collected which might be suitable for collateral reading. I am convinced, from my own experience as teacher in the secondary schools, that the judicious use of such material adds life and reality to historical study.

In making the selections I have constantly kept in mind that pupils of high-school age are ordinarily but slightly interested in constitutional documents. A relatively large number of the extracts have been taken, therefore, from the journals and letters of persons who were contemporary with the events described. Books of travel have likewise been drawn upon extensively. Topics have been chosen in the various fields of human activity, political, industrial, social, educational, and religious, but, in general, more extended selections, from fewer sources, have been made than has heretofore been usual in similar collections.

In the preparation of the present volume I am under special obligations to Albert H. Sanford, of the La Crosse, Wisconsin, State Normal School; Edward C. Page, of the De Kalb, Illinois, State Normal School; and William V. Pooley, of Northwestern University, for reading certain chapters of

the manuscript and for their many suggestions. My indebtedness to a number of editors of special volumes and to publishers who have generously permitted the use of selections is acknowledged in the following pages. As originally planned, Charles W. Mann, Professor of History in Lewis Institute, Chicago, was to co-operate with me in the choice of the readings, but his death occurred before the work was fairly begun. His counsel would have added materially to any merits which the volume may possess.

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, *November*, 1913.

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READINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

1. VOYAGES OF THE NORTHMEN (ABOUT 1000)

The voyages of the Northmen to Greenland began about 985 A. D., a century after their settlement in Iceland. Two colonies were founded in Greenland, known as the *Western* and *Eastern* settlements. In the latter, at Brattahlid, was the home of Eric the Red and his wife Thorhild. They had two sons, Thorstein and Leif, afterward called *Leif the Lucky*. In the year 1000 Leif was in Norway, at the court of King Olaf Tryggvason, and was selected by the King to introduce Christianity into Greenland. On his journey, however, he was driven from his course by storms and came upon an unknown coast.

During the following decade several attempts were made to colonize this land, known as Wineland, and these voyages form the chief subject-matter of two old Norse sagas: the Book of Hauk Erlendsson (about 1300) and that known as the Flat Island Book, because it was owned for a long time by a family living on Flat Island off the northeastern coast of Iceland. The following account is from Hauk's Book, or the Saga of Eric the Red, and describes the voyage of Thorfinn Karlsefni.—(The Finding of Wineland the Good. Translated and edited by Arthur Middleton Reeves, pp. 42-52, 64-67. London, 1890.)

About this time there began to be much talk at Brattahlid to the effect that Wineland the Good should be explored, for, it was said, that country must be possessed of many goodly qualities. And so it came to pass that Karlsefni

The
Northmen
and
Wineland.

The voyage of Thorfinn Karlsefni and his companions.

The land of Flat Stones and Bear Island discovered.

March-land, Keelness, and the Wonder-strands.

Thorhall, a companion of Karlsefni, goes north in search of Wineland.

and Snorri fitted out their ship for the purpose of going in search of that country in the spring. . . . They had in all one hundred and sixty men when they sailed to the Western Settlement and thence to Bear Island. Thence they bore away to the southward two "doegr" (twenty-four hours). Thence they saw land, and launched a boat and explored the land, and found there large flat stones, and many of them were twelve ells wide; there were many arctic foxes there. They gave a name to the country and called it Helluland (the land of flat stones). Then they sailed with northerly winds two "doegr" and land lay before them, and upon it was a great wood and many wild beasts; an island lay off the land to the southeast, and there they found a bear, and they called this Biarney (Bear Island), while the land where the wood was they called Marchland (Forest Land). Thence they sailed southward for a long time and came to a cape, and land lay upon the starboard; there were long strands and sandy banks there. They rowed to the land and found upon the cape the keel of a ship and they called the place Kialarnes (Keelness); they also called the strands Furdu-strāndir (Wonder-strands), because they were so long to sail by. . . .

It is said that Thorhall wished to sail to the northward beyond Wonder-strands in search of Wineland, while Karlsefni desired to proceed to the southward off the coast. Thorhall prepared for his voyage out below the island, having only nine men in his party, for all the remainder of the company went to Karlsefni. And one day when Thorhall was carrying water aboard his ship and was drinking, he recited this ditty:

"When I came, these brave men told me,
Here the best of drink I'd get,
Now with water-pail behold me,—
Wine and I are strangers yet.
Stooping at the spring I've tested
All the wine this land affords;
Of its vaunted charms divested,
Poor indeed are its rewards."

And when they were ready they hoisted sail; whereupon Thorhall recited this ditty:

“Comrades, let us now be faring
Homeward to our own again!
Let us try the sea-steed’s daring,
Give the chafing courser rein.
Those who will may bide in quiet,
Let them praise their chosen land,
Feasting on a whale-steak diet,
In their home by Wonder-strand.”

Then they sailed away to the northward past Wonder-strands and Keelness, intending to cruise to the westward around the cape. They encountered westerly gales, and were driven ashore in Ireland, where they were grievously maltreated and thrown into slavery. There Thorhall lost his life, according to that which traders have related.

Fate of
Thorhall’s
party.

It is now to be told of Karlsefni* that he cruised southward off the coast, with Snorri and Biarni and their people. They sailed for a long time until at last they came to a river which flowed down from the land into a lake, and so into the sea. There were great bars at the mouth of the river so that it could only be entered at the height of flood tide. Karlsefni and his men sailed into the mouth of the river and called it Hop (a landlocked bay). They found self-sown wheat-fields on the land there, wherever there were hollows, and wherever there was hilly ground there were vines. Every brook was full of fish. They dug pits on the shore when the tide rose highest, and when the tide fell there were halibut in the pits. There were great numbers of wild animals of all kinds in the woods. They remained there half a month, and enjoyed themselves and kept no watch. They had their live stock with them. Now, one morning early when they looked about them they saw a great number of skin canoes, and staves were brandished from the boats with a noise like

Karlsefni’s
adven-
tures.

First
meeting
with the
natives.

* For some of the various attempts which have been made to locate Karlsefni’s landing-place, see Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. I, chap. II.

flails, and they were revolved in the same direction in which the sun moves. Then said Karlsefni: "What may this be-token?" Snorri, Thorbrand's son, answers him: "It may be that this is a signal of peace, wherefore let us take a white shield and display it." And thus they did. Thereupon the strangers rowed toward them and went upon the land, marvelling at those whom they saw before them. They were swarthy men and ill-looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They had great eyes and were broad of cheek. They tarried there for a time looking curiously at the people they saw before them, and then rowed away and to the southward around the point.

Karlsefni and his followers had built their huts above the lake, some of the dwellings being near the lake and others further away. Now they remained there that winter. No snow came there, and all of their live stock lived by grazing. And when spring opened they discovered, early one morning, a great number of skin canoes, rowing from the south past the cape, so numerous that it looked as if coals had been scattered broadcast out before the bay; and on every boat staves were waved. Thereupon Karlsefni and his people displayed their shields, and when they came together they began to barter with each other. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and quite gray skins. They also desired to buy swords and spears, but Karlsefni and Snorri forbade this. In exchange for perfect unsullied skins the Skrellings would take red stuff a span in length, which they would bind around their heads. So their trade went on for a time, until Karlsefni and his people began to grow short of cloth, when they divided it into such narrow pieces that it was no more than a finger's breadth wide, but the Skrellings still continued to give just as much for this as before, or more.

It so happened that a bull which belonged to Karlsefni and his people ran out of the woods bellowing loudly. This so terrified the Skrellings that they sped out to their canoes and then rowed away to the southward along the coast.

A thriving trade in red cloth begins.

A fierce fight with the Skrellings.

For three entire weeks nothing more was seen of them. At the end of this time, however, a great number of Skrelling boats were discovered approaching from the south, as if a stream was pouring down, and all of their staves were waved in a direction contrary to the course of the sun, and the Skrellings were all uttering loud cries. Thereupon Karlsefni and his men took red shields and displayed them. The Skrellings sprang from their boats and they met them and fought together. There was a fierce shower of missiles, for the Skrellings had war slings. Karlsefni and Snorri observed that the Skrellings raised up on a pole a great ball-shaped body nearly black in color, and this they hurled from the pole upon the land above Karlsefni's followers, and it made a frightful noise when it fell. Whereat a great fear seized upon Karlsefni and all his men, so that they could think of naught but flight and of making their escape up along the river bank, for it seemed to them that troops of Skrellings were rushing toward them from every side, and they did not pause until they came to certain jutting crags, where they offered a stout resistance. . . .

It now seemed clear to Karlsefni and his people that although the country thereabouts was attractive their life would be one of constant dread and turmoil by reason of the inhabitants of the country, so they forthwith prepared to leave and determined to return to their own country.

Wineland
abandoned.

The story of Leif Ericsson's expedition is told at much greater length in the Flat Island Book, from which the following is taken:

There was now much talk of voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Eric the Red of Brattahlid, visited Biarni Heriulfsson and bought a ship of him, and collected a crew until they formed altogether a company of thirty-five men. Leif invited his father Eric to become the leader of the expedition, but Eric declined, saying that he was less able to endure the exposure of sea-life than he had been. Leif replied that he would nevertheless be the one who would be most apt to

Voyage of
Leif Ericsson, from
the Flat
Island
Book.

The voyage of Leif Ericsson.

The Land of Flat Stones.

Forest Land.

bring good luck, and Eric yielded to Leif's pleading and rode from home when they were ready to sail. When he was but a short distance from the ship the horse which Eric was riding stumbled, and he was thrown from his back and under his feet, whereupon he exclaimed: "It is not designed for me to discover more lands than the one in which we are now living, nor can we continue longer together." Eric returned home to Brattablid, and Leif went on his way to the ship with his companions, thirty-five men; one of the company was a German named Tyrker. They put the ship in order, and when they were ready they sailed out to sea, and found first that land which Biarni and his shipmates found last. They sailed up to the land and cast anchor, and launched a boat and went ashore, and found no grass there. Great ice mountains lay inland back from the sea, and it was as a (tableland of) flat rock from the sea to the ice mountains, and the country seemed to them to be entirely devoid of good qualities. Then said Leif: "It has not come to pass with us in regard to this land as with Biarni, that we have not gone upon it. To this country I will now give a name and call it Helluland" (the land of flat stones). They returned to the ship, put out to sea, and found a second land. They sailed again to the land and came to anchor and launched a boat and went on shore. This was a level, wooded land, and there were broad stretches of white sand where they went, and the land was level by the sea. Then said Leif: "This land shall have a name after its nature, and we will call it Markland" (forest land). They returned to the ship forthwith, and sailed away upon the main with northeast winds and were out two "doegr" (twenty-four hours) before they sighted land. They sailed toward this land and came to an island which lay to the northward off the land. There they went ashore and looked about them, the weather being fine, and they observed that there was a dew upon the grass, and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands and touched their hands to their mouths, and it seemed to them that they had never before tasted anything so sweet

as this. They went aboard their ship again and sailed into a certain sound, which lay between the island and the cape, which jutted out from the land on the north, and they stood in westering past the cape. At ebb tide there were broad reaches of shallow water there, and they ran their ship aground, and it was a long distance from their ship to the sea; yet were they so anxious to go ashore that they could not wait until the tide should rise under their ship, but hastened to the land where a certain river flows out from a lake. As soon as the tide rose beneath their ship they took the boat and rowed to the ship which they brought up the river and so into the lake, where they cast anchor and carried their hammocks ashore from the ship and built themselves booths. They afterward determined to establish themselves there for the winter, and they accordingly built a large house. There was no lack of salmon there either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had ever seen before. The country thereabouts seemed to be possessed of such good qualities that cattle would need no fodder during the winter. There was no frost there in the winter and the grass withered but little. The days and nights were of more nearly equal length than in Greenland or Iceland. When they had completed their house Leif said to his companions: "I propose now to divide our company into two groups, and to set about an exploration of the country; one half of our party shall remain at the house, while the other half shall investigate the land, and they must not go beyond a point from which they can return the same day, and they are not to separate." Thus they did for a time; Leif himself by turns joined the exploring party or remained behind at the house. Leif was a large and powerful man and of a most imposing bearing, a man of sagacity, and a very great man in all things.

The third
landing.

Winter
quarters
built.

Explora-
tion begins

It was discovered one evening that one of their company was missing, and this proved to be Tyrker, the German. Leif was sorely troubled by this, for Tyrker had lived with Leif and his father for a long time and had been very de-

Adven-
tures of
Tyrker,
the
German.

voted to Leif when he was a child. Leif severely reprimanded his companions, and prepared to go in search of him, taking twelve men with him. They had gone but a short distance from the house when they were met by Tyrker, whom they received most cordially. Leif saw at once that his foster-father was in lively spirits. Tyrker had a prominent forehead, restless eyes, small features, was small in stature, and rather a sorry-looking individual withal, but was nevertheless a most capable handicraftsman. Leif addressed him and asked: "Wherefore art thou so belated, foster-father mine, and astray from the others?" In the beginning Tyrker spoke for some time in German, rolling his eyes and grinning, and they could not understand him; but after a time he addressed them in the northern tongue: "I did not go much further than you, and I have something of novelty to relate. I have found vines and grapes." "Is this, indeed, true, foster-father?" asked Leif. "Of a certainty it is true," said he, "for I was born where there is no lack of either grapes or vines." They slept the night through, and on the morrow Leif said to his shipmates: "We will now divide our labors, and each day will either gather grapes or cut vines and fell trees, so as to obtain a cargo of these for my ship." They acted upon this advice, and it is said their after-boat was filled with grapes. A cargo sufficient for the ship was cut, and when spring came they made their ship ready and sailed away; and from its products Leif gave the land a name and called it Wineland. They sailed out to sea and had fair winds until they sighted Greenland. . . .

A cargo of grapes, vines, and timber taken to Greenland.

2. DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (1492)

When Columbus sailed from Palos he resolved "to write an account of all the voyage very punctually, noting from day to day all that I should do or see." The original journal has disappeared but there is an abridgment which contains many extracts from it. Columbus describes the difficulties of the voyage, the fears of the sailors and the means he used to quiet them, their joy at finding

land, and the perils of the return.—(The Journal of Christopher Columbus During His First Voyage, 1492–93. Translated, with notes and an introduction, by Clements R. Markham, London, 1893.)

I left the city of Granada on the 12th day of May, in the same year of 1492, being Saturday, and came to the town of Palos, which is a seaport; where I equipped three vessels well suited for such service; and departed from that port well supplied with provisions and with many sailors, on the 3d day of August of the same year, being Friday, half an hour before sunrise, taking the route to the Islands of Canaria belonging to your Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean Sea, that I might thence take my departure for navigating until I should arrive at the Indies, and give the letters of your Highnesses to those princes, so as to comply with my orders.

The sailing of Columbus.

Monday, 6th of August.

The rudder of the caravel *Pinta* became unshipped, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who was in command, believed or suspected that it was by contrivance of Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero to whom the caravel belonged, for they dreaded to go on that voyage. . . .

Sunday, 9th of September.

This day the Admiral made nineteen leagues, and he arranged to reckon less than the number run, because if the voyage was of long duration, the people would not be so terrified and disheartened. . . .

The distances changed.

Thursday, 13th of September.

That day and night, steering their course which was west, they made thirty-three leagues, counting three or four less. The currents were against them. On this day, at the commencement of the night, the needles turned half a point to the northwest, and in the morning they turned somewhat more northwest.

Variation of the compass.

Saturday, 22d of September.

They shaped their course W. N. W. more or less, her head turning from one to the other point, and made thirty leagues. They saw some sandpipers and another bird. Here the Admiral says: "This contrary wind was very necessary for me, because my people were much excited at the thought that in these seas no wind ever blew in the direction of Spain. . . ."

Thursday, 11th of October.

The course was W. S. W., and there was more sea than there had been during the whole of the voyage. They saw sandpipers and a green reed near the ship. Those of the caravel *Pinta* saw a cane and a pole, and they took up another small pole which appeared to have been worked with iron; also another bit of cane, a land plant and a small board. The crew of the caravel *Niña* also saw signs of land, and a small branch covered with berries. Every one breathed afresh and rejoiced at these signs. The run till sunset was twenty-seven leagues.

After sunset, the Admiral returned to his original west course, and they went along at the rate of twelve miles an hour. Up to two hours after midnight, they had gone ninety miles, equal to twenty-two and a half leagues. As the caravel *Pinta* was a better sailer and went ahead of the Admiral, she found the land, and made the signals ordered by the Admiral. The land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana. But the Admiral, at ten o'clock, being in the castle of the poop, saw a light, though it was so uncertain that he could not affirm it was land. He called Pero Gutierrez, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and said that there seemed to be a light, and that he should look at it. He did so and saw it. The Admiral said the same to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the King and Queen had sent with the fleet as inspector, but he could see nothing, because he was not in a place where anything could be seen. After the Admiral had spoken, he saw the light once or twice

Circumstances of the discovery.

and it was like a wax candle, rising and falling. It seemed to few to be an indication of land; but the Admiral made certain that land was close. When they said the *Salve*, which all the sailors were accustomed to sing in their way, the Admiral asked and admonished his men to keep a good lookout on the forecastle and to watch well for land; and to him who should first cry out that he saw land, he would give a silk doublet, besides the other rewards promised by the sovereigns, which were 10,000 maravedis* to him who should first see it. At two hours after midnight the land was sighted at a distance of two leagues. They shortened sail, and lay by under the mainsail without the bonnets.

The vessels were hove to, waiting for daylight; and on Friday they arrived at a small island of the Lucayos, called, in the language of the Indians, Guanahani. Presently, they saw naked people. The Admiral went on shore in the armed boat, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vicente Yañez, his brother, who was captain of the *Niña*. The Admiral took the royal standard, and the captains went with two banners of the green cross, which the Admiral took in all the ships as a sign, with an F and a Y,† and a crown over each letter, one on one side of the cross and one on the other. Having landed, they saw trees very green, and much water, and fruits of diverse kinds. The Admiral called to the two captains, and to the others who leaped on shore, and to Rodrigo Escovedo, secretary of the whole fleet, and to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and said that they should bear faithful testimony that he, in presence of all, had taken as he now took, possession of the said island for the King and for the Queen, his lords, making the declarations that are required, as is now largely set forth in the testimonies which were then made in writing.

The landing, October 12.

Presently many inhabitants of the islands assembled. What follows is in the actual words of the Admiral in his

*The maravedi was worth about two-thirds of a cent. Columbus received this reward, because he saw the light on shore.

†Fernando and Ysabel.

Colum-
bus's
opinions
about the
natives.

book of the first navigation and discovery of the Indies. "I," he says, "that we might form great friendship, for I knew that they were a people who could be more easily freed and converted to our holy faith by love than by force, gave to some of them red caps and glass beads to put around their necks, and many other things of little value, which gave them great pleasure, and made them so much our friends that it was a marvel to see. They afterwards came to the ship's boats where we were, swimming and bringing us parrots, cotton threads in skeins, darts, and many other things; and we exchanged them for other things that we gave them, such as glass beads and small bells. In fine, they took all and gave what they had with good will. It appeared to me to be a race of people very poor in everything.

They are very well made, with very handsome bodies, and very good countenances. Their hair is short and coarse, almost like the hairs of a horse's tail. They wear the hair brought down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind, which they wear long and never cut. They paint themselves black, and they are the color of the Canarians, neither black nor white. Some paint themselves white, others red, and others of what color they can find. Some paint their faces, others the whole body, some only around the eyes, others only on the nose. They neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I showed them swords, and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their darts being wands without iron, some of them having a fish's tooth at the end, and others being pointed in various ways. They should be good servants and intelligent, for I observed that they quickly took in what was said to them, and I believe that they would easily be made Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no religion. I, our Lord being pleased, will take hence at the time of my departure, six natives for your Highnesses, that they may learn to speak. I saw no beast of any kind except parrots on this island. . . ."

3. LETTER FROM COLUMBUS TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA CONCERNING THE COLONIZATION AND COMMERCE OF THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA

This letter, which was written during the year 1493, before Columbus set out on his second expedition, has been said to entitle him to the honor to be considered "the pioneer law-giver of the New World."—(The translation is the one used by W. E. Curtis in the Report of the American Historical Association, 1894, pp. 452–455. A slightly different translation is given in *Original Narratives of Early American History, The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*, pp. 273–277.)

MOST HIGH AND POWERFUL SIRs: In obedience to what your Highnesses command me, I shall state what occurs to me for the peopling and settling of the Hispaniola Island and of all others, whether already discovered or hereafter to be discovered, submitting myself, however, to any better opinion.

In the first place, and in regard to the Hispaniola Island, I should suggest the number of settlers who may be found willing to go there to be up to two thousand, so as to render the possession of the country safer and cause it to be more profitable. This will aid also in facilitating intercourse and dealings with the neighboring islands.

I suggest further three or four towns to be founded at convenient places, and the new settlers or colonists to be properly distributed among said towns.

And in order to secure the better and prompter settlement of the said island, I should suggest furthermore that the privilege of getting gold be granted exclusively to those who have acquired a domicile and built a dwelling house in the town of their residence, so as to secure for them all to live close to each other and be better protected.

And also, that each town be given, as is customary in Castile, a mayor and a clerk.

And furthermore, that a church be built, and that secular priests or friars be sent there for the administration of the

Number of
settlers.

Founding
towns.

Special
privilege
to house-
holders.

Officers.

Churches.

sacraments, the conversion of the Indians, and the proper worship of the Divinity.

Permits
for gold-
hunters.

And further, that no colonist be allowed to go and gather gold unless with a permit from the governor or mayor of the town in which he lives, to be given only upon his promising under oath to return to the place of his residence and faithfully report all the gold which he may have gathered, this to be done once a month, or once a week, as may be ordered to him, the said report to be entered on the proper registry by the clerk of the town in the presence of the mayor, and if so deemed advisable, in the presence of a friar or secular priest selected for the purpose.

And further, that all the gold so gathered be melted right away, and melted and stamped subsequently with such a mark or seal as the town may have devised and selected, and that the share of that gold which belongs to your Highnesses be given and delivered to the mayor of the town, the proper record thereof being made by the clerk and by the secular priest or friar who may witness to it, so as to cause the transaction to be known by more than one person and rendering the concealing of the truth impossible.

Furthermore, that all the gold which may be found without the mark or seal aforesaid in the possession of any one who formerly had reported once as aforesaid, be forfeited and divided by halves, one for the informer and the other for your Highnesses.

Provision
for
building
churches.

And further, that one per cent of all the gold gathered be set apart and appropriated for building churches and providing for their proper furnishing and ornamentation, and to the support of the secular priests or friars having them in their charge, and if so deemed advisable for the payment of some compensation to the mayors and clerks of the respective towns, so as to cause them to fulfill their duties faithfully, and that the balance be delivered to the governor and treasurer sent there by your Highnesses.

Division
of gold.

And further, and in regard to the division of the gold and the setting apart the share which belongs to your Highnesses,

I am of the opinion that the operation must be entrusted to the said governor and treasurer, because the amount of the gold found may sometimes be large and sometimes small, and, if so deemed advisable, that the share of your Highnesses be established for one year to be one-half, the other half going to the gatherers, reserving for a future time to make some other and better provision, if necessary.

And further, that if the mayors and clerks commit any fraud in these matters, or consent to it, the proper punishment be inflicted upon them, and that a penalty be likewise imposed upon those colonists who do not report in full the whole amount of the gold which is in their possession.

Penalty
for
fraud.

And further, that a treasurer be appointed and sent to the said island, who shall receive all the gold belonging to your Highnesses, and shall have a clerk to make and keep the proper record of the receipts, and that the mayors and clerks of the respective towns be given the proper vouchers for everything which they may deliver to the said treasurer.

And further, that whereas the extreme anxiety of the colonists to gather gold may induce them to neglect all other business and occupations, it seems to me that prohibition should be made to them to engage in the search of gold during some season of the year, so as to give all other business, profitable to the island, an opportunity to be established and carried on.

Search for
gold not to
be only
occupa-
tion.

And further, as far as the business of discovering other lands is concerned, it is my opinion that permission to do so should be given to every one who desires to embark in it, and that some liberality should be shown in reducing the fifth to be given away, so as to encourage as many as possible for entering into such undertakings. . . .

Induce-
ment for
further
discover-
ies.

And further, that all vessels coming from the said island must come to unload to the port of Cadiz, and that no person shall be allowed to leave the vessels or get in them until such person or persons of the said city as may be appointed for this purpose by your Highnesses have boarded the same vessels and received information from the masters

Cadiz the
only port
of
entrance.

of all that they have brought, and the official statement of the nature and value of the cargoes, so as to facilitate a thorough examination and find out whether anything has been brought hidden and not declared in the manifests at the time of shipment. . . .

S.

S. A. S.

X. M. Y.

XPO-FERENS.*

Sent by the Admiral.

* Meaning of the monogram has not been determined.

CHAPTER II

SPANISH EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

4. SPANISH MOTIVES FOR COLONIZATION

"A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania and the manners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks, merchant, which lived five years in the said country and drew the same at the request of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, 1572."—(Richard Hakluyt, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, pp. 462-469. London, 1600.)

Saint John de Ulloa is an island not high above the water, where as now the Spaniards upon Mr. John Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine for these parts do unlade; for they have none other port so good as this. . . .

Five leagues from Saint John de Ulloa is a fair river; it lieth northwest from the port and goeth to a little town of the Spaniards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels and barks which they call frigates, they carry all their merchandise which cometh out of Spain to the said town; and in like manner bring all the gold, silver, coehinillas, hides and all other things that the ships carry into Spain unto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they carry them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Suatecas, and Saint Martin, and divers other places so far within the country, that some of them are seven hundred miles off, and some more and some less, all upon horses, mules, and in wains drawn with oxen, and in cars drawn with mules.

Vera
Cruz.

Mos-
quitos.

This town is inclined to many kinds of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certain gnat or fly which they call a musquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleep; and as soon as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had been bitten by a venomous worm. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into the country. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

Irrigation.

This hot or sick country continueth five and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the five and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate country, and full of tillage; but they water all their corn with rivers which they turn in upon it. And they gather their wheat twice a year. And if they should not water the ground where their corn is sown, the country is so hot it would burn all.

Before you come to Mexico there is a great town called Tlaxealla, which hath in it above sixteen thousand households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings Spain; for these were the occasion that Mexico was won so short a time, and with so little loss of men. Where they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this town is all the cochinilla growing.

City of
Mexico.

Mexico is a great city; it hath more than fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or six thousand houses of Spaniards; all the other are of the people of the country that live under the Spaniard's laws. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friars and nuns, which the Spaniards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautiful outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windows, which is not so comely as the building of the Spaniards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoes, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coals, and grass for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corn.

Fairs.

This city is subject to many earthquakes, which often-

times cast down houses and kill people. This city is very well provided of water to drink, and with all manner of victuals. There are, in this city, every week three fairs or markets which are frequented with many people, as well Spaniards as people of the country. There are in these fairs or markets all manner of things that may be invented to sell, and in especial things of the country. The one of these fairs is on Monday and is called Saint Hippolytus fair, and Saint James' fair is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is Saint John's fair. In this city is always the king's governor or viceroy, and there are kept the Terms (courts) and Parliaments. And, although there be other places of justice, yet this is above all; so that all men may appeal to this place, and may not appeal from this city, but only into Spain before the King; and it must be for a certain sum, and if it be under that sum, there is no appellation from them. Many rivers fall into this lake which the city standeth in; but there was never any place found whither it goeth out.

Courts.

The Indians know a way to drown the city, and within these three years they would have practised the same; but they which should have been the doers of it were hanged, and ever since the city hath been well watched both night and day, for fear lest at some time they might be deceived, for the Indians love not the Spaniards. Round about the town there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the country, marvellous fair, where the people have great recreation.

Hatred of
Natives.

There are near about this city of Mexico many rivers and standing waters which have in them a monstrous kind of fish, which is marvellous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattle. He is wont to sleep upon the dry land many times, and if there come, in the mean time, any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like unto a serpent, saving that he doth not fly, neither hath he wings.

Alligators.

There is west out of Mexico a port town which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, whereas there are

Port of
Acapulco.

ships which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is three score leagues from Mexico.

There is another port town which is called Culiacun, on the South sea, which lieth west by north out of Mexico and is 200 leagues from the same; and there the Spaniards made two ships to go seek the strait or gulf, which, as they say, is between the Newfoundland and Greenland; and they call it the Englishmens' strait; which as yet was never fully found. They say, that strait lieth not far from the mainland of China, which the Spaniards account to be marvellous rich.

Silver mines. Toward the north from Mexico, there are great store of silver mines. There is greater quantity of silver found in these mines toward the north than there is in any other parts. These mines are commonly upon great hills and stony ground, marvellous hard to be labored and wrought.

Gold. In this country of Nova Hispania there are also mines of gold, although the gold be commonly found in rivers, or very near unto rivers. And now, in these days, there is not so much gold found as there hath been heretofore.

Cities of Cibola. The Spaniards have notice of seven cities which old men of the Indians show them should lie toward the northwest from Mexico. They have used, and use daily, much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these towns, they cast a mist upon them so that they cannot see them.

They have understanding of another city which they call Copulla; and in like manner, at my being in the country, they have used much labor and diligence in the seeking of it. They have found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoe, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not find nor see any man, nor the town which to their understanding should stand on the same water, or very near the same.

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the country

of Cibola, which were never brought hither by the Spaniards, but breed naturally in the country. They are like unto our oxen, saving that they have long hair like a lion, and short horns, and they have upon their shoulders a bunch like a camel, which is higher than the rest of their body. They are marvellous wild and swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola. Buffaloes.

This Cibola is a city which the Spaniards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, fair chimneys, windows made of stone and timber excellently wrought, fair wells with wheels to draw their water, and a place where they buried their dead people, with many fair stones upon the graves. And the captain would not suffer his soldiers to break up any part of these graves, saying, he would come another time to do it.

They asked certain people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone; and they made answer, they were gone down a river, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

The captain, lacking things necessary for himself and his men, was fain to return back again, without finding any treasure according to his expectation; neither found they but few people, although they found beaten ways which had been much haunted and frequented. The captain at his coming back again, had a great check of the governor, because he had not gone forwards, and seen the end of that river.

The people of the country are of good stature, tawny-colored, broad-faced, flat-nosed, and given much to drink both wine of Spain and also a certain kind of wine which they make with honey of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soon drunk, and given to much beastliness, and void of all goodness. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, upon pains of money, as well he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh

Indian
traits.

the same. And if this commandment were not, all the wine in Spain and France were not sufficient for the West Indies only.

They are of much simplicity and great cowards, void of all valor, and are great witches. They used divers times to talk with the devil, to whom they do certain sacrifices and oblations; many times they have been taken with the same, and I have seen them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to learn all manner of occupations and sciences (trades), which for the most part, they learned since the coming of the Spaniards; I say, all manner of arts. They are very artificial in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of manner as he is. The fineness and excellency of this is wonderful, that a barbarous people as they are, should give themselves to so fine an art as this is. They are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tailors, sadlers, embroiderers, and of all other kinds of sciences; and they will do work so good cheap, that poor young men that go out of Spain to get their living, are not set on work; which is the occasion there are many idle people in the country. For the Indian will live all the week on one groat; which the Spaniard cannot do, nor any man else. They have no care for anything, but only from day to day for that which they have need to eat.

The Indians have the friars in great reverence. The occasion is that by them and by their means they are free and out of bondage, which was so ordained by Charles the emperor; which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and silver coming into Europe, as there was while the Indians were slaves. For when they were in bondage they could not choose but do their task every day, and bring their masters so much metal out of their mines; but now they must be well paid and much entreated to have them work. So it hath been, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines and to the kings *quinto* or custom.

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof

they spend in the country as much as serveth their turns. There is some gold in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the [re]fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so far from the sea, that it will not be worth the freight to carry it into Spain. On the other side, the king's officers will give no license to make ordinance thereof; whereupon mines lie unlabored and of no valuation.

Copper
and gold.

The pomp and liberality of the owners of the mines is marvellous to behold; the apparel both of them and of their wives is more to be compared to the apparel of noble persons than otherwise. If their wives go out of their houses, as unto the church, or any other place, they go out with great majesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some nobleman. I will assure you, I have seen a miner's wife go to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keep open house; who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountiful in all manner of things.

Wealth
of mine-
owners.

A good owner of mines must have at the least an hundred slaves to carry and to stamp his metals; he must have many mules, and men to keep the mines; he must have mills to stamp his metals; he must have many wains and oxen to bring home wood to fine his metals; he must have much quick-silver, and a marvellous quantity of salt brine for the metals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quick-silver, it is a new invention, which they find more profitable than to fine their ore with lead. Howbeit, the same is very costly; for there is never a hundred of quick-silver but costeth at the least three score pounds sterling. And the mines fall daily in decay and of less value; and the occasion is, the few Indians that men have to labor their mines.

The Indians are much favored by the Justices of the country, and they call them their orphans. And if any Spaniard should happen to do any of them harm, or to wrong

Justice to
Indians.

him in taking anything from him, as many times they do, or to strike any of them, being in any town where, a justice is, they are as well punished for the same as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When the Spaniard is far from Mexico or any place of justice, thinking to do with the poor Indian what he list, considering he is so far from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commandeth him, and if he will not do it, he beateth and misuseth him, according to his own appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace until he find an opportunity, and then taketh a neighbor with him and goeth to Mexico, although it be twenty leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediately heard, and though it be a knight or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civil, as they are; and if they should not have this favor, the Spanish would soon dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs or other evil words, and the Indian must needs put it up and go his way.

Wealth
of Montezuma.

Montezuma, which was the last king of this country, was one of the richest princes that have been seen in our time or long before. He had all kind of beasts which were then in the country, and all manner of birds and fishes, and all manner of worms which creep upon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbs, all fashioned in silver and gold, which was the greatest part of all his treasure, and in these things he had great joy, as the old Indians report. And unto this day, they say that the treasure of Montezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards have it not. This King would give none of his people freedom, nor forgive any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were never so poor. He had as many wives and concubines, as he would have, and such as liked him. Always, whenever he went out of his Court to pass the time, he was borne upon four of his noblemen's shoulders set upon a table, some say of gold,

and very richly dressed with feathers of divers and many colors and flowers. He washed all his body every day, were it never so cold. And unto this day, so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

The Spaniards keep the Indians in great subjection. They may have in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may wear upon them any manner of arms. Neither may they ride upon any horse nor mule, in any saddle nor bridle, neither may they drink wine, which they take for the greatest pain of all. They have attempted divers times to make insurrections, but they have been overthrown immediately by their own great and beastly cowardliness.

5. EXPEDITION OF DE SOTO, 1539-42

By "A Portugall Gentleman of Eluas." The real name of the writer is unknown, but he accompanied De Soto on his expedition. —(Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages*, II, pp. 1-131. London, 1609.)

Captaine Soto was the son of a squire of *Xerez* of *Badaioz*. He went into the Spanish *Indies*, when *Peter Arias of Auila* was governour of the West *Indies*: and there he was without any thing else of his owne, save his sword and target; and for his good qualities and valour, *Peter Arias* made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandement hee went with *Fernando Pizarro* to the conquest of *Peru*: where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) as well as the taking of *Atabalipa*, Lord of *Peru*, as at the assault of the citie of *Cusco*, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoeuer hee was present, hee passed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of *Atabalipa*, he had a good share: whereby in time he gathered an hundred and four-score thousand Duckets together, with that which fell to his part: which he brought into *Spaine*: whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with 60,000 Rials of plate in the rent of the silkes of *Granada*,

De Soto
accom-
panies
Pizarro
to Peru.

De Soto
made
governor
of Cuba.

and all the rest was deliuered him in the Contractation house of Siuil [Seville]. . . . The Emperour made him the governour of the Isle of *Cuba*, and Adelantado or president of *Florida*; with a title of Marques of certaine part of the lands, that he should conquer.

When *Don Ferdinando* had obtained the gouernment, there came a Gentleman from the *Indies* to the Court, named *Cabeça de Vaea*, which had been with the Governour *Pamphilo de Naruacz* which died in *Florida*, who reported that *Naruacz* was cast away at sea with all the companie yt went with him. And how he with foure more escaped and arriued in *Nuenua Espanna*; Also he brought a relation in writing of that which hee had seene in *Florida*; . . . Generally he reported the miserie of the Countrie, and the troubles which he passed; and hee told some of his kinsfolke, which were desirous to goe into the *Indies*, and urged him very much to tell them whether he had seene any rich country in *Florida*; . . . And hee informed them, *that it was the richest Countrie of the world*. *Don Ferdinando de Soto* was very desirous to have him with him, and made him a favourable offer; and after they were agreed, because *Soto* gave him not a summe of money which he demanded to buy a ship, they broke off againe. . . .

Reported
riches of
Florida.

In the yeere of our Lord 1538, in the month of Aprill, the Adelantado delivered his shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them; and took for himselve a new ship, and good of saile, . . .

On Sunday the 18. of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1539, the Adelantado or president departed from *Havana* in *Cuba* with his fleete, which were nine vessels, five great ships, two carauels, and two brigantines: They sailed seven daies with a prosperous wind, . . . On Friday the 30. of May they landed in *Florida*, . . . They set on land two hundred and thirteene horses, . . . Hee landed all his men, and only the sea men remained in the shippes, . . .

From the Port de *Spirito Santo* where the Governour lay, he sent the Alcalde Mayor *Baltasar de Gallégos* with 50 horse-

Expedi-
tion to
Florida.

Exploring
expedition
sent out.

men and 30, or 40, footemen to the province of Paracossi, to view the disposition of the countrie, and enforme himselfe of the land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. . . . Baltasar came to the Paracossi. . . . He asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich countrie where there was gold or silver. They told them, they did: and that toward the West, there was a Prouince which was called *Cale*; and that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was sommer, and that there was much gold; and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of *Cale*, these inhabitants of *Cale* did weare hats of gold, in manner of head pieces. . . .

Hee [De Soto] left Captaine *Calderon* at the Port, with thirtie horsemen, and seventie footemen, with prouision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the maine land, and came to the *Paracossi*, at whose towne *Baltasar de Gallégos* was; and from thence with all his men took the way to *Cale*. . . .

De Soto
sets out to
find the
great river.

Upon Monday the sixt of March 1542, the Gouvernour departed from *Antiamque* to seek *Nilco*, which the Indians said was neere the Great river, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of men and horses; for hee had now but three hundred men of warre, and fortie horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make up the number; and for want of iron they had gone above a yeere unshod: . . . When he had passed the River there fell out such weather, that foure daies he could not travell for snow. Assoone as it gave ouer snowing, he went three daies journey through a Wildernesse, and a countrie so low, and so full of lakes and ewill waies, that hee travelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swamme. . . .

This River which passed by *Nilco* was that which passed by *Coyas* and *Antiamque*, and fell into Rio grande, or the Great Riuer [Mississippi], which passed by *Pachaba* and

Aquiro neere into the province of *Guachoya*: . . . Within few daies the Governour determined to goe to *Guachoya*, to learne there whether the Sea was neere . . . As he passed the Riuer of *Nilco*, there came in canoes Indians of *Guachoya* up the streame, and when they saw him, supposing that he came to seeke them to doe them some hurt, they returned downe the River and informed the Cacique thereof; who with all his people, spoiling the towne of all that they could carrie away, passed that night over to the other side of *Rio grande*, or the great River. The Governour sent a Captaine with fifty men in sixe canoes downe the Riuer, and went himselve by land with the rest; hee came to *Guachoya* upon Sunday the 17. of Aprill; he lodged in the towne of the Cacique which was inclosed about, and seated a crossebow shot distant from the River. . . .

The
Missis-
sippi
reached.

As soone as the Governour came to *Guachoya*, hee sent *John Damusco* with as many men as could goe in the canoes up the River. For when they came downe from *Nilco* they saw on the other side the River new cabins made. *John Damusco* went and brought the canoes loden with Maiz, French beanes, Prunes, and many loaves made of the substance of prunes. That day came an Indian to the Governour, from the Cacique of *Guachoya*, and said, that his Lord would come next day. The next day they saw many canoes come vp the River, . . . In them came the Cacique of *Guachoya*, and brought with him manie Indians with great store of Fish, Dogges, Deeres skinnes, and mantles: and assoone as they landed, they went to the lodging of the Governour, and presented him their gifts, . . .

CHAPTER III

THE RIVALRY OF NATIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

6. THE EXPEDITION OF JOHN CABOT, 1497

Letter from Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his Brothers Alvise and Francesco.—(Clements R. Markham, translator and editor. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus and Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real*, pp. 201–206, Hakluyt Society Publications. London, 1893.)

London, 23rd August, 1497.

Discovery
of the
Gran Cam.

Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands, has come back, and says he has discovered, 700 leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Gran Cam [China], and that he coasted along it for 300 leagues, and landed, but did not see any person. But he has brought here to the king certain snares spread to take game and a needle for making nets, and he found some notched trees, from which he judged that there were inhabitants. Being in doubt, he came back to the ship. He has been away three months on the voyage, which is certain, and, in returning, he saw two islands to the right, but he did not wish to land, lest he should lose time, for he was in want of provisions. The king has been much pleased. He says that the tides are slack, and do not make currents as they do here. The king has promised for another time, ten armed ships as he desires, and has given him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to go with him as he has requested; and has granted him money to amuse himself

till then. Meanwhile, he is with his Venetian wife and his sons at Bristol. His name is Zuam Talbot and he is called the Great Admiral, great honour being paid to him, and he goes dressed in silk. The English are ready to go with him, and so are many of our rascals. The discoverer of these things has planted a large cross in the ground with a banner of England, and one of St. Mark, as he is a Venetian; so that our flag has been hoisted very far away.

Extract from the Privy Purse Accounts, Henry VII.

Reward for John Cabot, 10th Aug. 1497. To hym that founde the new isle, £10.

First Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan (extract).

24th August 1497.

Plan for
a second
expedition.

Some months afterwards His Majesty sent a Venetian, who is a distinguished sailor, and who was much skilled in the discovery of new islands, and he has returned safe, and has discovered two very large and fertile islands, having it would seem, discovered the seven cities, 400 leagues from England to the westward. These successes led His Majesty at once to entertain the intention of sending him with fifteen or twenty vessels.

Second Despatch of Raimondo Di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.

18th. December, 1497.

My most illustrious and most excellent Lord,—

Results of
the first
expedition
of John
Cabot.

Perhaps amidst so many occupations of your Excellency it will not be unwelcome to learn how his Majesty has acquired a part of Asia without drawing his sword. In this kingdom there is a certain Venetian named Zoanne Caboto, of gentle disposition, very expert in navigation, who seeing that the most serene Kings of Portugal and Spain had occupied unknown islands, meditated the achievement of a sim-

ilar acquisition for the said Majesty. Having obtained royal privileges securing to himself the use of the dominions he might discover, the sovereignty being reserved to the crown, he entrusted his fortune to a small vessel with a crew of 18 persons, and set out from Bristo, a port in the western part of this kingdom. Having passed Ibernica, which is still further to the west and then shaped a northerly course, he began to navigate to the eastern part, leaving (during several days) the North Star on the right hand; and having wandered thus for a long time, at length he hit upon land, where he hoisted the royal standard, and took possession for his Highness, and, having obtained various proofs of his discovery, he returned. The said Messer Zoanne, being a foreigner and poor, would not have been believed if the crew, who are nearly all English, and belonging to Bristo, had not testified that what he said was the truth. This Messer Zoanne has the description of the world on a chart, and also on a solid sphere, which he has constructed, and on which he shows where he has been; and, proceeding towards the east, he has passed as far as the country of the Tanais. And they say that there the land is excellent and temperate, suggesting that brasil [dye-wood] and silk grow there. They affirm that the sea is full of fish, which are not only taken with a net, but also with a basket, a stone being fastened to it in order to keep it in the water; and this I have heard stated by the said Messer Zoanne.

Character
of the
land dis-
covered.

The said Englishmen, his companions, say that they took so many fish that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there is an immense trade in the fish they call stock-fish. But Messer Zoanne has set his mind on higher things, for he thinks that, when that place has been occupied, he will keep on still further to the east, where he will be opposite to an island called Cipango [Japan] situated in the equinoctial region, where he believes that all the spices of the world, as well as the jewels are found. He further says that he was once at Mecca, whither the spices are brought by caravans from distant countries; and having

inquired from whence they were brought and where they grow, they answered they did not know, but that such merchandize was brought from distant countries by other caravans to their home; and they further say that they are also conveyed from other remote regions. And he adduced this argument, that if the eastern people tell those in the south that these things come from a far distance from them, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it must be that the last turn would be by the north towards the west; and it is said that in this way the route would not cost more than it costs now, and I also believe it. And what is more, His Majesty, who is wise and not prodigal, reposes such trust in him because of what he has already achieved, that he gives him a good maintenance, as Messer Zoanne has himself told me. And it is said that before long his Majesty will arm some ships for him, and will give him all the malefactors to go to that country and form a colony, so that they hope to establish a greater depot of spices in London than there is in Alexandria. The principal people in the enterprise belong to Bristo. They are good seamen, and now that they know where to go, they say that the voyage thither will not occupy them more than 15 days after leaving Ibernia. I have also spoken with a Burgundian, who was a companion of Messer Zoanne, who affirms all this, and who wishes to return because the Admiral (for so Messer Zoanne is so entitled) has given him an island, and has given another to his barber of Castione [Castiglione] who is a Genoese, and both look upon themselves as counts; nor do they look upon my Lord the Admiral as less than a Prince. I also believe that some poor Italian friars are going on this voyage, who have all had bishopricks promised to them. And if I had made friends with the Admiral when he was about to sail, I should have got an archbishoprick at least; but I have thought that the benefits reserved for me by your Excellency will be more secure. I would venture to pray that, in the event of a vacancy taking place in my absence, I may be put in possession, and that I may not be superseded by those, who being

Plans for
a second
expedition.

present, can be more diligent than I, who am reduced in this country to eating at each meal ten or twelve kinds of victuals, and to being three hours at table every day, two for love of your Excellency, to whom I humbly recommend myself. London, 18 Dec. 1497, your Excellency's most humble servant.

RAIMUNDUS.

7. CARTIER'S DESCRIPTION OF HOCHELAGA, 1535

In April, 1534, Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, France, under orders from Francis I, set out with two vessels of sixty tons each to extend the bounds of France. During his absence of six months he explored the St. Lawrence "until land could be seen on either side." The expedition was regarded as successful, and Cartier set out on a second expedition in May, 1535. The account of Hochelaga was written by Cartier himself.—(Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages*, III, pp. 213–236. London, 1600.)

In the yeere of our Lord 1535, upon Whitsunday, being the 16 of May, by the commandement of our Captaine James Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we devoutly each one confessed our selves, and received the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of a sayd Church, wee presented our selves before the Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed us all, being in his Bishops robes. The Wednesday following, being the 19 of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships. . . . So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, untill the 20 of the said moneth.

The expedition.

Now our Captaine with five Gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the toune of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

Our Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, having very gorgeously attired himself, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the toune and habitation of these people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also five gentlemen and

Cartier's visit to Hochelaga.

twentie mariners, leaving the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with us three men of Hochelaga to bring us to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best country that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great okes as are in an wood in France, under which the ground was all covered over with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or five miles, we met by the way one of the chieftest Lords of the citie, accompanied with many more, who so soone as he sawe us beckned and made signes upon us, that we must rest in that place where they had made a great fire and so we did. After that we had rested our selves there awhile, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, even as we have said above, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Capitaine and all his company a joyfull countenance, and good will, who gave him two hatchets, a pair of knives and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gave our Capitaine heartie thanks. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a half farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is even as the Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peas, wherewith they live even as we do with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were joyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharp Spire but laid across above. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly joined together after their fashion. The closure is in height about two rods. The entrance to the entry thereat, which is shut with peeces of timber. Over it, and also in many places of the town, are the

Descrip-
tion of
the town.

to runne along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones for the defence of it. There are in the toune about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelve or fiftiene broad, built all of wood, covered over with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunningly joined together. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of every one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common together: there doe the husbands, wives and children each one retire themselves to their chambers. They have also on the tops of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They have certain peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beate our hempe, and with certain beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make a paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then cover it with hot stones, and so they bake their bread instead of Ovens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and beanes, whereof they have great store, as also with other fruits, as Mushe-Millions, and very great cowcumbers. They have also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserve and keep their fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the sunne, and live therewith in winter, whereof they make great provision, as we by experience have seene. All their viands and meates are without any taste or savor of salt at all. They sleepe upon barkes of trees laid all along upon the ground being overspread with the skinnies of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and cover themselves. . . .

CHAPTER IV

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

8. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA

(Captain John Smith, Works, edited by Edward Arber, Vol. I, xxxiii. Birmingham, England, 1884.)

Advice of the Council to the captains and company sent to Virginia.

Place for
settlement.

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavor to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-west for that way you shall soonest find the other sea. . . .

Precau-
tions
against
the enemy.

And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in Florida by Melindus, and the Spaniard in the same place by the French, you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you; and if you neglect this you neglect your safety. . . .

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and it is like enough that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which runs the contrary way towards the East India Sea: for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tanais and Dwina have three heads near joynid; and yet one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Paelonian Sea.

Search for
the East
Indies.

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if they have any: and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them: for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavor to store yourselves of the country corn. . . .

Treatment
of natives.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town: for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Location
of settle-
ment.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; . . . if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages do not marr your trade: for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange and hinder the trade for ever after: and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any marchandises or other things whatsoever.

Sailors not
to engage
in trade.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth and be carried square about your market place, and every street's

Plan of
town.

end opening into it; that from thence with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull. . . .

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

9. CONDITION OF THE JAMESTOWN COLONY, 1607

On May 14, 1607, the three vessels commanded by Captain Christopher Newport anchored at a point on James River, some thirty-two miles from its mouth. The colonists landed and began the settlement of Jamestown. June 22 Captain Newport sailed for England, leaving one hundred and four settlers. So poorly equipped were the settlers for the hardships encountered that by September 10 only forty-six of their number were still alive.—(Gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman Master George Percy. Purchas His Pilgrimes, IV, pp. 1685–90. London, 1625.)

Protection of the colony.

The fifteenth of June, 1607, we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle wise; having three Bulwarkes, one at every corner, like a halfe Moone, and four or five pieces of artillery mounted in them; this we had made ourselves sufficiently strong for these savages. We had also sown most of our corn on two mountains. It had sprung a mans height from the ground. This country is a fruitful soil, bearing many goodly and fruitful trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypressse, Sassafras, and vines in great abundance.

Monday, the two and twentieth of June, 1607, in the morning Captain Newport in the Admirall departed from James port for England.

Conditions after the departure of Newport.

Captain Newport being gone for England, leaving us, one hundred and four persons, verie bare and scantie of victuals: furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages. We hoped after a supply, which Captain Newport promised

within twentie weeks. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further us, the country being so fruitful, it would be as great a profit to the realm of England as the Indies to the King of Spain. If this river which we have found had been discovered in time of war with Spain, it would have been a commoditie to our realm, and a great annoyance to our enemies. . . .

Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as swellings, fluxes, burning fevers and by warres: and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine.

There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia. We watched every three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soever came; and warded all the next day; which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small can of barley, sodden in water, to five men a day. Our drink, cold water taken out of the river; which was, at a flood very salt; at low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five months [August, 1607–January, 1608] in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terror in the savages hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the fort most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men without relief, every night and day for the space of six weeks; some departing out of this world, many times three or four in a night; in the morning their bodies trailed out of their cabins like dogs to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of divers of our people.

It pleased God after a while, to send those people which were our mortal enemies, to relieve us with victuals, as bread, corne, fish, and flesh in great plenty, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise we had all perished.

10. VALUE OF VIRGINIA AS A COLONY

(Virginia More Especially the South part thereof, Richly and truly valued: The Discovery of Silkworms, Also The Dressing of Vines, for the rich Trade of making Wines in Virginia. Together with the making of the Saw-mill, very usefull in Virginia, by E. W., Gent., London, 1650. Peter Force, Collection of Historical Tracts, III, No. XI, pp. 1-62.)

Place for
robbers.

1. It will disburthen this nation of many indigent persons, who having formerly perhaps enjoyed a fulnesse of abused or forfeited plenty, at the present reduced to an inequality of such subsistence, are commonly prompted to their owne and other mens ruine by making the high wayes (which should be as public and inviolable a sanctuary as the most sacred places) an ambuscado to innocent Travellers, by which interruption of passages, there is commonly occasioned a decay and discouragement of commerce, and dayly examples informs us, that Prisons at present are almost as full of criminall as indebted persons.

Suitable
place for
orphans.

2. It will take off all Parish charges, in providing for destitute Minors and Orphans, whereof there is at present a burthensome multitude, whereby the Parishes so freed, may with greater alacrity and ability, part with contributory moneys to maintaine, recruite, and encourage your Armies and Navies.

3. Those Orphans so provided for may by Gods blessings upon their labours become happy and wealthy instruments, advantageous to the place of their nativity in particular, and their whole nation in generall. Whereas the condition of their birth and the usual way of exposing them, makes them capable of no more gainfull calling than that of day-labourers, or which is more frequent, hereditary beggars.

Malcon-
tents.

4. The republic in its present constitution abounding with so dangerous a number of male contents, who commonly like Shrubs under high and spreading Cedars, imagine the spacious height of others to be the cause of their owne low-

ness, may by this means be honourably secured, and such men removing their discontents with their persons, will have a brave and ample theater to make their merits and abilities emergent, and a large field to sow and reap the fruit of all their honest industrious and public intentions.

5. It will to admiration increase the number of Ships and Seamen, (the brazen wall of this nation) all materiall to advance Navigation, being abundantly to be furnished out of those countries and the more Passengers by conference and disputation with the knowing Mariner, will take great delight, satisfaction, and ambition, to attaine to the Theory of that knowledge, while the less capable being accustomed and assigned to an usuall part in the toyle thereof, and instructed by the ordinary Seaman, will be brought to a good readinesse therein and speedy perfection.

Increase
navy.

6. All materialls for shipping, as Timber, Cordage, Sailes, Iron, Brasse, Ordnance, of both metals, and whatever else we are necesitated to supply our wants with out of the Easterne Countries, who make it not unusuall to take advantages of their neighbours necessity, and often times upon a pretence of difference or unintelligence betwixt us, embrace an occasion to over-rate or over-custome their commodities, or (a real quarrell widening) sell it to other nations from whence we are forced to supply our selves at a second or third market.

Material
furnished
for ship-
building.

7. It will give us the liberty of storing a great part of Europe with a large plenty of incomparable better fish, then the Hollander hath found meanes to furnish it withall, and will make us in no long tract of time, if industriously prosecuted, equall, if not transcend him in that his most beneficiall Staple.

Valuable
for supply-
ing fish.

8. It will be to this Common wealth a standing and plentifull magazine of Wheat, Rice, Flax, Cotton, Salt, Pot-ashes, Sope-ashes, Segars, Wines, Silke, Olives, and whatever single is the staple of other Nations Shall be found in this joyntly collected.

Produce
which may
be raised.

9. It will furnish us with rich Furs, Hides, Tallow, Biefe, Pork, etc., the growth and increase of Cattell in this nation,

To supply
furs, beef
and pork.

receiving a grand interuption and stop, by killing commonly very hopefull yong breed to furnish our markets, or store our shipping, meerly occasioned by wast of ground to feed them, whereas those Provinces afford such large proportion of rich ground, that neither the increase of this or the succeeding age can in any reasonable probability overfeed the moiety.

Homes
for dis-
charged
soldiers.

10. By it many of your Honours Reformadoes and disbanded souldiers being dismist with the payment of such part of their arrears as your own judgment (guided by the rule of your immense disbursements) shall thinke a convenient recompense, by transporting themselves thither may change their desperate fortunes into a happy certainty of condition, and a contented lively hood, which will be a means not only to disburden this Republick (as before) but to remove all those clamors usually disturbing your public consultations, and to win upon them by your bounty to invert all those fearfull imprecations, with which they would (as much as in them lies) unblesse your proceedings, into a joyfull and fervent concurrence of prayers to the Almighty to shoure downe blessings upon your heads, who, next under him, are the glorious and visible instruments of their increasing happinesse.

Surplus
popula-
tion.

11. It will be a generous and moving incouragement to all industrious and publick spirits, to imploy those parts with which God and nature hath blessed them in the discovery of such happy inventions as may drive on hopefull designs with a lesser number of hands then is usually assigned to them, which issues of the brain are legitimate and geniall to beginning Plantations, where the greatest want is that of people: but for our own or other popular Kingdomes where we are commonly overprest with a greater multitude of labourers than employers, by much lesse acceptable, since our indigent people look upon such Engins meerly as monoppolies to engrosse their livelihood. . . .

Wealth of
Virginia.

That all these, and many inestimable benefits may have their rise, increase, and perfection from the South parts of

Virginia, a country unquestionably our own, devolved to us by a just title, and discovered by John Cabot at the English expences, who found out and took seisure, together with the voluntary submission of the natives to the English obedience of all that Continent from Cape Florida northward, the excellent temper of the air, the large proportion of ground, the incredible richnesse of soile, the admirable abundance of minerals, vegetables, medicinall drugs, timber, scituation, no less proper for all European commodities, than all those staples which entitle China, Persia, and other the more opulent Provinces of the East to their wealth, reputation, and greatnes (besides the most Christian of all improvements, the converting many thousands of the natives) is agreed upon by all who have ever viewed the Country: To which the judgement of the most incomparable Raleigh may be a convincing assertion, whose preferring of that Country before either the North of Virginia or New-England, though it may sufficiently command my submission and acquiescence; yet for more particular satisfaction be pleased to accept these reasons for such praelation.

1. The apparent danger all the Colonies may be in if this be not possessed by the English, to prevent the Spaniard, who already hath seated himself on the North of Florida, and on the back of Virginia in 34, where he is already possessed of rich silver mines. . . .

Foll
against
Spanish
advance.

5. And lastly, the planting of this Collony will open a most compendious passage to the discovery of those more opulent Kingdomes of China, Cochin China, Cathaga, Japan, the Phillipines, Summatra, and all those beauteous and opulent Provinces of the East Indies which beyond dispute lye open to those seas which wash the South-West parts of Virginia, through whose bosome all those most precious commodities which enable the Chinesie, Cathayan, Persian, and Indostant Empires, may more conveniently, speedily, with more security and lesse expences, be transported thence from Spawhann or other remoter Provinces to Gombroon, by a long dangerous and expensive caravane, and from

Will lead
to the dis-
covery of
China.

thence to Surat, where when arrived the doubling of the Line, calentures Scurvies, with a long train of diseases and Famine attend its transportation into our owne Countrey.

6. Whereas by expandeing our selves to both sides and seas of Virginia, our commerce to those noble Nations lies open in short and pleasant voyages to the encouragement, enriching and delight of the Seamen and personal adventurers, who will share in the delicacies and profits of those Kingdoms without participating in the miseries attending our present voyages thither. . . .

CHAPTER V

NEW ENGLAND

11. JOHN SMITH'S DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND, 1614

(Captaine John Smith's Works, Arber edition, pp. 187-229. London, 1616.)

In the moneth of Aprill, 1614, with two Ships from *London*, of a few merchants, I chanced to arive in *New-England*, a parte of *Ameryca*, at the Ile of Monahiggan, in $43\frac{1}{2}$ of Northerly latitude; our plot was there to take whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furies was then our refuge, to make our selues sauers howsoever; we found this Whalefishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but we could not kill any; they being a kinde of Jubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our golde, it was rather the Masters device to get a voyage that projected it, than any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furies was now our guard: and by our late arriual, and long lingering about the Whale[s], the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it; we thinking that their seasons, serued at all times; but wee found it otherwise; for by the midst of June, the fishing failed. Yet in July and August some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40,000., of Corfish about 7000.

Purpose of
the expedition.

Whilest the sailors fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them [that] might best bee spared; ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skinnes, 100

Exploration of the coast.

Martins [skins], and near as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

We ranged the Coast both East and West much further; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against us in the main [the mainland] was a ship of Sir Frances Pophames, that had there such acquaintance, having many yeares used onely that porte, that the most parte there, was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade; during the time we tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Saluages habitation.

Success of
the expe-
dition.

With these Furres, the Traine [train oil], and cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Bark: where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arriued back. The best of this fish was solde for five pound the hundredth, the rest by ill usage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings. . . .

Situation
of New
England.

New England is that part of America in the Ocean Sea opposite to Nova Albyon in the South Sea; discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled New England, beeing in the same latitude. New France, off it, is Northward; Southwardes is Virginia, and all the adioyning Continent with New Granado, New Spain, New Andalosia and the West Indies. Now because I have been so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of these spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long unknown, or not possessed by the Spaniard, and many such like demands; I intreat your pardens if I chance to be too plaine or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction. Florida is next adioyning to the Indies, which unprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the French. A country far bigger than England, Scotland, France and Ireland, yet little known to any Christian, but by the wonderful endeavors of Ferdinando de Soto a valiant Spaniard: whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne, to search these parts. . . .

That part wee call New England is betwixt the degrees of 41 and 45; but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from Pennobscot to Cape Cod, some 75 leagues by a right line distant from each other: within which bounds I have seene at least 40 severall habitations upon the Sea Coast and sounded about 25 excellent good harbours: In many whereof there is anchorage for 500 sayle of ships of any burthen: in some of them for 5000: And more than 200 Iles over growne with good timber, of divers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as requireth a longer time than I had, to be well discovered. . . .

Betwixt Sagadahock and Sowocatuck there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape Cod very many; especialy the Coast of the Massachusetts is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of divers sorts; and quarries of stones in other places so strangely divided with trinctured veines of divers colors; as Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Furnaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conveniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of Devonshire, I thinke most of the cliffs would make such limestone: If they be not of these qualities they are so like, they may deceive a better judgement than mine; all which are soe neere adjoyning to these other advantages I observed in these parts, that if the Ore prove as good iron and steele in these parts, as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare engage my head (having but men skillful to worke the simples, there growing) to have all things belonging to the building the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good merchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 or 14 leagues; and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to produce it in a lesse limitation.

And surely by reason of these sandy cliffes and cliffes of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the

Riches of
New Eng-
land.

Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish and moderate temper of the ayre (for of twenty-five not any was sicke, but two that were many years diseased before they went notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approve this a most excellent place both for health and fertility? And of all the foure parts of the world that I have yett seene not inhabited, could I but have the meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather live here than anywhere: and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve.

Value as
fishing-
ground.

The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which however it may seeme a meane and base commoditie; yet who will but truly take the pains and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great adventures the hopes of setting forth men of war [privateers] to rob the industrious innocent, would produce; or such massie promises in grosse; though more are choked than well fedde with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poor Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious? . . . And never could the Spaniard with all his Mynes of golde and silver, pay his debts, his friends and his army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil have done by this contemptible trade of fish. . . .

Conver-
sion of the
savages.

Who can desire more content that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, than to treat, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant, than planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by God's blessing and his own industrie, without prejudice to any? If he have any graine of faith or zeal in religion, what can hee doe less hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, than to seeke to convert these poore Salvages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What

so truely sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things unknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and to gain to our Native mother Countrie a kingdom to attend her? finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any as, to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise?

12. INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION.

William Bradford was Governor of Plymouth between the years 1621 and 1657, with the exception of the three years when Edward Winslow was chosen, 1633, 1636, and 1644, and the two years, 1634 and 1638, when Thomas Pence was chosen. Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth, from which the extracts are taken, is a work of greatest value.—(William Bradford, History of Plymouth Plantation, 1629–1648, pp. 90–94; 110 *passim*. Boston, 1856.)

In these hard and difficult beginnings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriags in others, but they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things by the Governor and better part, which clave together faithfully in the main. But that which was most sad and lamentable was, that in two or three months time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their inaccomodate condition had brought upon them; so as there died sometimes two or three of a day, in the aforesaid time; that of one hundred and odd persons scarce fifty remained. And of these, in the time of most distress, there was but six or seven sound persons, who, to their great commendation be it spoken, spared no pains, night or day, but with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, clothed and

Condi-
tions in
1620.

unclothed them; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love unto their friends and brethren. A rare example and worthy to be remembered. Two of these seven were Mr. William Brewster, their reverend elder, and Miles Standish their captain and military commander, unto whom myself and many others were much beholden in our low and sick condition. And yet the Lord so up held these persons, as in this general calamity they were not at all infected either with sickness or lameness. And what I have said of these I may say of many others who died in this general visitation and others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doubt not but their recompense is with the Lord.

Relations
to the
Indians.

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves aloof of [at a distance], but when any one approached near them they would run away. And once they stole away their tools, where they had been at work and were gone to dinner. But about the 16th of March, a certain Indian came boldly among them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastern parts where some English ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted and could name sundry of them by their names, among whom he had gott his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people here, of their names, number, and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief among them. His name was Samoset. He told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speak better English than himself. Being, after some time of entertainment and gifts, dismissed, a while

after he came again and five men with him, and they brought again all the tools that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem called Massasoit, who, about four or five days after, came with the chief of his friends and other attendants, with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him, they made a peace which hath now continued these twenty-four years.

Massasoit.

1621. After the departure of this ship [the *Fortune*], which stayed not above fourteen days, the Governor and his assistant having disposed these late comers into several families, as they best could, took an exact account of all their provisions in store, and proportioned the same to the number of persons, and found that it would not hold out above six months at half allowance and hardly that. And they could not well give less this winter time till fish came in again. So they were presently put to half allowance, one as well as another, which began to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply.

Put on half allowance, 1621.

Soon after this ships departure (November 1621) the great people of the Narragansetts, in a braving manner, sent a messenger unto them with a bundle of arrows tied about with a great snake-skin, which their interpreters told them was a threatening and a challenge. Upon which the Governor, with the advice of others, sent them a round answer, that if they had rather have war than peace, they might begin when they would; they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger sent the snake-skin back with bullets in it; but they would not receive it but sent it back again. . . .

Exchange of gifts with the natives.

But this made them the more carefully to look to themselves, so they agreed to inclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked and a watch kept, and when need required there was also warding in the daytime. And the company was, by the Captain's and Governor's advice, divided into four squadrons, and every one had their

Means of protection.

quarter appointed them, unto which they were to repair upon any sudden alarm. And if there should be any cry of fire, a company were appointed for a guard with muskets, while others quenched the same, to prevent Indian treachery. This was accomplished very cheerfully, and the town impaled round by the beginning of March, in which every family had a pretty garden plot secured. And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more rather of mirth than of weight. On the day called Christmas day, the Governor called them out to work, as was used, but the most of this new company excused themselves and said it went against their consciences to work on that day. So the Governor told them that if they made it a matter of conscience, he would spare them until they were better informed. So he led away the rest and left them; but when they came home at noon from their work, he found them in the street at play openly; some pitching the bar and some at stool-ball and such like sports. So he went to them and took away their implements, and told them that was against his conscience, that they should play and others work. If they made the keeping of it a matter of devotion, let them keep their houses, but there should be no gaming or revelling in the streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly. . . .

13. NEW ENGLAND AS A PLACE FOR SETTLEMENT, 1629

Reverend Francis Higginson, a minister of Salem, wrote an account of the conditions incident to making homes in Massachusetts. —(New England's Plantation or a Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of That Country, London, 1630; Peter Force, *Historical Tracts*, I, No. XII, 1-14. Washington, 1836.)

Though, as the idle proverb is, "Travellers may lie by authority," and so may take too much sinful liberty that way, yet I may say of myself, as once Nehemiah did in another case, "Shall such a man as I lie?" No, verily. It becometh

not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falsehood in any degree; and therefore I have been careful to report nothing of New England but what I have partly seen with my own eyes, and partly heard and inquired from the mouths of very honest and religious persons, who be living in the country a good space of time have had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I do believe as myself.

The fertility of the soil is to be admired at, as appeareth in the abundance of grass that groweth everywhere, both very thick, very long and very high in divers places. But it groweth very wildly, with a great stalk, and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten with cattle, nor mowed with a scythe, and seldom trampled on by foot. It is scarcely to be believed how our kine and goats, horses and hogs do thrive and prosper here, and like well of this country.

Fertility
of the
soil.

In our plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny. But the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment. Thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, are ordinary here. Yea, Joseph's increase in Egypt is outstripped here with us. Our planters hope to have more than a hundred fold this year. And all this while I am within compass; what will you say of two-hundred fold and upwards? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English planters have had by our Indian corn. Credible persons have assured me, and the party himself avouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of thirteen gallons of corn he hath had increase of it fifty-two hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushel was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth eighteen shillings; and so of the thirteen gallons of corn, which was worth six shillings eight pence, he made about £327 of it the year following, as by reckoning will appear; where you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this land. There is not such great and plentiful ears of corn I suppose anywhere else to be found but in this country,

Growth
of corn.

being also of a variety of colours as red, blue, and yellow; and of one corn there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many ears of diverse colors that you might see the truth of it.

Abundance of fish.

The abundance of sea fish are almost beyond believing; and sure I should scarce have believed it except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales, and grampuses, and such abundance of mackerels that it would astonish one to behold; likewise codfish, abundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat; it is altogether as good as our fresh salmon; and the season of their coming was begun when we came first to New England in June, and so continued about three months space. Of this fish, our fishers have taken many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore, to my admiration. Yea, their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to haul to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let many go after they have taken them; and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And besides bass, we take plenty of skate and thornback, and abundance of lobsters, and the least boy in the Plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part, I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and lucious.

Healthfulness of the location.

The temper of the air in New England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies. Many that have been weak and sickly in Old England, by coming here have been thoroughly healed, and grown healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinary clear and dry air, that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been, being much troubled with a tormenting pain

through an extraordinary weakness of my stomach, and abundance of melancholic humors. But since I came hither on this voyage, I thank God I have had perfect health, and freed from pain and vomiting, having a stomach to digest the hardest and coarsest fare, who before could not eat finest meat; and whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, now I can and do often times drink New England water very well. And I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the day time; and whereas before time I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the summer time, I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light stuff cassock upon my shirt, and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings. Besides, I have one of my children, that was formerly most lamentably handled with sin breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king's evil; but since he came here he is very well as ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recovery shortly, even by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body; and therefore I think it is a wise course for all cold complexions to come to take physic in New England; for a sup of New England's air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale.

Though it be here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warm us, and that a great deal cheaper than they sell billets and fagots in London; nay, all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant here, that is to possess but fifty acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire as good as the world yields, than many noble men in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of fish thereof it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees, that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of

Condi-
tions in
winter.

candles which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other; and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch that they burn as clear as a torch.

Now I will tell you of some discommodities, that are here to be found.

Mos-
quitoes.

First, in the summer season; for these three months, June, July, and August, we are much troubled with little flies called mosquitoes, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolnshire and the fens; and they are nothing but gnats which, except they be smoked out of their houses, are troublesome in the night season.

Severe
cold.

Secondly, in the winter season for two months space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts, something more sharp than is in Old England, and therefore are forced to make great fires.

Snakes.

Thirdly, this country being very full of woods and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents, of strange colors and huge greatness. Yea, there are some serpents, called rattle snakes, that have rattles in their tails, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him and sting him so mortally that he will die within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stung have about him some of the root of an herb called snake-weed to bite on, and then he shall receive no harm. But yet it seldom falls out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since an Indian was stung to death by one of them; but we have heard of none since that time.

Homes for
surplus
population
of Eng-
land.

Fourthly and lastly, here wants as yet the good company of honest Christians, to bring with them horses, kine, and sheep, to make use of this fruitful land. Great pity it is to see so much good ground for corn and for grass as is any under the heavens, to lie altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in old England, through the populousness thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other. . . .

14. PROGRESS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, 1631

Governor Dudley came from England with the charter for Massachusetts in 1630. For some nine or ten years he had lived in the family of the Countess of Lincoln. The letter was written nine months after his arrival in America.—(Governor Thomas Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, March 28, 1631; Peter Force, *Historical Tracts*, II, No. IV, pp. 1-19. Washington, 1838.)

For the satisfacon of your honour and some freinds, and for use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in New England, I have in the throng of domestick, and not altogether free from publique businesse, thought fitt to comit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrivall here; which I will doe shortly, after my usual manner, and must doe rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire side upon my knee, in this sharp winter; to which my family must have leave to resorte, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not. . . .

Touching the plantacon which wee here have begun, it fell out thus about the year 1627 some friends beeing togeather in Lincolnesheire, fell into some discourse about New England and the plantinge of the gospell there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by letters and messages to some in London and the west country where it was likewise deliberately thought vpon, and at length with often negotiation soe ripened that in the year 1628, wee procured a patent from his Majesty for our planting between the Matachussetts Bay, and Charles river on the South; and the River of Merimack on the North and 3 miles on ether side of these Rivers and Bay, as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit with in that compass, and the same year we sent Mr. John Endicott and some with him to beginne a plantacon and to strengthen such as he should find there which wee sent thether from Dorchester and some

Organiza-
tion of the
company.

Beginning
of settle-
ment.

places adjoyning; ffrom whom the same year receivinge hopefull news. The next year, 1629, wee sent diverse shippes over with about 300 people. and some Cowes, Goates, and horses many of which arrived safely. Theis by their too large comendacons of the country, and the comodities thereof, invited us soe strongly to goe on that Mr. Wenthropp of Soffolke (who was well knownen in his own country and well approved heere for his pyety, liberality, wisdom and gravity) comeinge in to us, wee came to such resolution that in April 1630, wee set saile from Old England with four good shippes. And in May following 8 more followed, 2 having gone before us in February and March, and 2 more following in June and August. besides another set out by a private merchant. Theis 17 Shippes arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the plantacon here this year, 1630, but made a long, a troublesome, and a costly voyage, beeing all wind bound long in England, and hindered with contrary winds after they set saile and so scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together. Our 4 shippes which sett out in Aprill arrived here in June and July, where we found the colony in a sadd and unexpected condicon, above 80 of them beeing dead the winter before and many of those alive, weake and sicke; all the corne and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight; insoe much that the remainder of 180 servants wee had the 2 years before sent over, comeinge to us for victualls to sustaine them, wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the provisions shipped for them were taken out of the shippe they were put in, and they who were trusted to shippe them in another failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss to give them all libertie; who had cost us about 16 or 20£ a person furnishing and sending over. But bearing theis things as wee might, wee beganne to consult of the place of our sitting doune: for Salem where we landed pleased us not. And to the purpose some were sent to the Bay to search upp the rivers for a convenient place; who uppon their returne reported to have found a

Settlement
at Charles-
town.

good place uppon Mistick; but some other of us seconding theis to approve or dislike of their judgement; we found a place liked us better 3 leagues up Charles river— And there uppon unshipped our goods into other vessels and with much cost and labour brought them in July to Charles Towne; but there receiveing advertisements by some of the late arived shippes from London and Amsterdam of some Ffrench preparations against us (many of our people brought with us beeing sick of ffeavers and the scurvy and wee thereby unable to cary up our ordinance and baggage soe farre) wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charles Towne which standeth on the North Side of the mouth of Charles River; some on the South Side thereof, which place we named Boston (as wee intended to have done the place wee first resolved on) some of us uppon Mistick, which wee named Meadford; some of us westwards on Charles river, four miles from Charles Towne, which place we named Watertoune; others of us 2 miles from Boston in a place wee named Roxbury, others upon the river of Saugus betweene Salem and Charles Toune. And the western men 4 miles South of Boston at a place wee named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of us; but helpe it wee could not, wanting abillity to remove to any place fit to build a Toune uppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least the winter should surprize us before wee had builded our houses. The best counsel wee could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place if any enemy pressed there unto, after wee should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wett and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time they who had health to labour fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with sicknes and many dyed weekley, yea almost dayley. Insomuch that the shippes beeing now uppon their returne, some for England, some for Ireland, there was as I take it not much less than an hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our government which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through feare of famine

Settlement
of Boston
and other
towns.

Difficul-
ties in
founding
the colony.

(not seeing other meanes than by their labour to feed themselves) which returned back againe. And glad were wee so to be ridd of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their own disposition, which were planted at Piscataway went from us to them, whereby though our numbers were lessened yet wee accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their removeall. . . . But now haveing some leasure to discourse of the motives for other mens comeinge to this place or their abstaineing from it, after my breife manner I say this.—That if any come hether to plant for worldly ends that canne live well at home hee comits an error of which hee will soon repent him. But if for spirittuall and that noe particular obstacle hinder his removeall, he may finde here what may well content him: vizt: materialls to build, fewell to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to ffish in, a pure ayer to breath in, good water to drink till wine or beare canne be made, which togeather with the cowes, hoggs, and goates brought hether all ready may suffice for food, for as for foule and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. Ffor cloaths and beddinge they must bring them with them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, wee yett enjoy little to be envyed but endure much to bee pittyed in the sicknes and mortalitye of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealeinge least other men should fall short of their expectacons when they come hether as wee to our great prejudice did, by meanes of letters sent us from hence into England, wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men out of religious ends will come over to helpe us in the good work wee are about I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoninge, but they must not bee of the poorer sort yett for diverse yeares. Ffor we have found by experience that they have hindered, not furthered the work.—And for profane and deboshed persons their oversight in comeinge hether is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to con-

Advice to
prospec-
tive set-
tlers.

tent them. If there bee any endued with grace and furnished with meanes to feed themselves and theirs for 18 months, and to build and plant lett them come into our Macedonia and helpe us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profittable employment; for others I conceive they are not fitted for this busines. . . .

CHAPTER VI

FURTHER ENGLISH COLONIZATION

15. RESOURCES OF PENNSYLVANIA

The following account of conditions in Pennsylvania was prepared by William Penn, as a letter to his friends in London, 1683.—(American Museum, or Universal Magazine. Philadelphia, January, 1787–December, 1792).

Philadelphia, the 16th of the 6th month,
called August, 1683.

MY KIND FRIENDS.

The kindness of yours by the ship *Thomas and Anne*, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation and the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make. . . .

But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came—an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments; nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, etc.

For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth.

I. The country itself, in its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised.

The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel both loamy and dusty; and in some places, a fast, fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so that the advantages of the country are divided, the back lands, being generally, three to one, richer than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hasel-mould, upon a stony or rocky bottom.

Soil and
climate of
Pennsyl-
vania.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters not two miles from Philadelphia.

Rivers.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

The
seasons of
the year.

First, of the fall, for then I came in: I found it, from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp, frosty weather, not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths, than in England. The reason for this cold is given from the great lakes, that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky.

V. The natural produce of the country—of vegetables,

Natural
produc-
tions.

is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gumwood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black, Spanish chestnut and swamp, the most durable of all: of all which, there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plumbs, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, called by ignorance, "the fox grape" (because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates), is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the fronteniac; as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muskadil, and a little black grape, like the cluster-grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shews some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches, very good, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them: but whether naturally here at first, I know not: however, one may have them by bushels, for little. They make a pleasant drink, and I think, not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine, as any European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country, is wheat, *barley, oats, rye, pease, beans, squashes, pumkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

Agricultural products.

VII. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brants, ducks, teal; also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; not so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, catshead, sheepshead, eel, smelt, perch, roach, and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon above the falls. Of shell fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles, as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, minx, musk-rat: and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement; to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

Animal life.

VIII. We have no want of horses, and some are very good and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves since my coming. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen.

Exports.

* Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schuylkill, had, with ordinary cultivation, from one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley; and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty—and three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

Medicinal
plants.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cutts etc. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient: and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the others, I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

Flowers.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty; but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial. Thus much of the country; next of the natives, or Aborigines. . . .

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIES AFTER THE RESTORATION, 1660-90

16. REVOLT AGAINST THE AUTHORITY OF GOVERNOR ANDROS

(An Account of the Late Revolution in New-England Together with the Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country Adjacent, April 18, 1689. Written by Mr. Nathanael Byfield, a merchant of Bristol, in New-England, to his Friends in London.—Peter Force, Collection of Historical Tracts, IV, No. X, 1-17.)

We were put under a *President and Council*, without any liberty for an Assembly, which the other *American Plantations* have, by a Commission from his *Majesty*.

No representative Assembly.

III. The Commission was as *Illegal* for the form of it, as the way of obtaining it was *malicious* and *unreasonable*: yet we made no Resistance thereunto as we could easily have done; but chose to give all *Mankind* a Demonstration of our being a people sufficiently dutiful and loyal to our King; and this with yet more satisfaction, because we took pains to make our selves believe as much as ever we could of the Whedle then offer'd unto us; That his Majesty's desire was no other than the happy encrease and advance of these *Provinces* by their more immediate Dependance on the *Crown of England*. And we were convinced of it by the courses immediately taken to damp and spoyle our *Trade*; whereof decoyes and complaints presently filled all the Country; while in the mean time neither the Honour nor the Treasure of the King was at all advanced by this new Model of our Affairs, but a considerable Charge added unto the Crown.

Attitude toward change of government.

Authority
of
Governor
Andros.

IV. In little more than half a year we saw this Commission superseded by another, yet more Absolute and Arbitrary, with which Sir Edmund Andros arrived as our Governour: who besides his Power, with the Advice and Consent of his Council, to make Laws and raise Taxes as he pleased; had also Authority by himself to Muster and Employ all Persons residing in the Territory as occasion shall serve; and to transfer such Forces to any English Plantation in *America*, as occasion shall require. And several Companies of Souldiers were now brought from Europe, to support what was to be imposed upon us, not without repeated Menaces that some hundreds more were intended for us.

Type of
public
officials.

V. The Government was no sooner in these Hands, but care was taken to load Preferments principally upon such men as were strangers to, and haters of the People: and every ones Observation hath noted, what Qualifications recommended a man to publick Offices and Employments, only here and there a *good man* was used, where others could not easily be had; the Governour himself, with Assertions now and then falling from him, made us jealous that it would be thought for his Majesties Interest, if this people were removed and another succeeded in their room: And his far-fetch'd Instruments that were growing rich among us, would gravely inform us, that it was not for his Majesties Interest that we should thrive. But of all our oppressors we were chiefly *squeez'd* by a crew of abject Persons, fetched from New York, to be the Tools of the Adversary, standing at our right hand; by these were extraordinary and intollerable Fees extorted from every one upon all occasions, without any Rules but those of their own insatiable Avarice and Beggary; and even the probate of a will must now cost as many *Pounds* perhaps as it did *Shillings* heretofore; nor could a small Volume contain the other Illegalities done by these *Horse-Leeches* in the two or three Years that they have been sucking of us; and what Laws they made it was as impossible for us to know, as dangerous for us to break; . . .

VI. It was now plainly affirmed, both by some in open

Council, and by the same in private converse, that the people in *New-England* were all *Slaves* and the only difference between them and *Slaves* is their not being bought and sold; and it was a maxim delivered in open Court unto us by one of the Council, *that we must not think the Priviledges of Englishmen would follow us to the end of the World.* Accordingly we have been treated with multiplied contradictions to *Magna Charta*, the rights of which we laid claim unto. Persons who did not peaceably object against the raising of Taxes without an Assembly, have been for it fined, some twenty, some thirty, and others fifty Pounds. Packt and pickt Juries have been very common things among us, when, under a pretended form of Law, the trouble of some honest and worthy men had been aimed at; but when some of this Gang have been brought upon the stage for the most detestable Enormities that ever the Sun beheld, all men have with admiration seen what methods have been taken that they might not be treated according to their Crimes. Without a Verdict, yea, without a Jury sometimes have people been fined most unrighteously; and some not of the meanest Quality have been kept in long and close Imprisonment without any the least Information appearing against them, or an *Habeas Corpus* allowed unto them. In short, when our Oppressors have been a little out of mony, 'twas but pretending some offence to be enquired into, and the most innocent of men were continually put to no small Expence to answer the Demands of the Officers, who must have mony of them, or a prison for them tho none could accuse them of any Misdemeanour.

VIII. Because these things could not make us miserable fast enough, there was a notable Discovery made of we know not what *flaw* in all our *Titles to our Lands*; and, tho *besides* our purchase of them from the Natives; and, *besides* our actual peaceable unquestioned possession of them for near threescore Years, and besides the Promise of K. *Charles II.* in his Proclamation sent over to us in the Year 1683, *That no man here shall receive any Prejudice in his Free-hold or Estate;*

Titles to
land nulli-
fied.

. . . Yet we were every day told, *That no man was owner of a Foot of Land in all the Colony.* Accordingly *Writs of Intrusion* began every where to be served on People, that after all their Sweat and their Cost upon their formerly purchased Lands, thought themselves Free-holders of what they had. And the Governor caused the Lands pertaining to these and those *particular Men*, to be measured out for his Creatures to take possession of; and the *Right Owners*, for pulling up the Stakes, have passed through molestations enough to tire all the patience in the world. . . .

Appeal to
the king.

IX. All the Council were not engaged in these ill Actions, but those of them which were true Lovers of *their Country*, were seldom admitted to, and seldomer consulted at the Debates which produced these unrighteous Things; Care was taken to keep them under Disadvantages; and the Governor, with five or six more, did what they would. We bore all these, and many more such Things, without making any attempt for any Relief; only Mr. Mather, purely out of respect unto the Good of his Afflicted Country, undertook a Voyage into *England*; which when these who suspected him to be preparing for, they used all manner of Craft and Rage, not only to interrupt his Voyage, but to ruin his *Person* too. God having through many Difficulties given him to arrive at *White-hall*, the King, more than once or twice, promised him a certain *Magna Charta* for a speedy Redress of many things which we were groaning under; and in the meantime said *That our Governor should be written unto, to forbear the Measures that he was upon.* However, after this, we were injured in those very Things which were complained of; . . .

Seizure of
officials.

XII. We do therefore seize upon the Persons of those few *Ill men* which have been (next to our Sins) the grand Authors of our Miseries; resolving to secure them, for what Justice, Orders from his Highness, with the *English Parliament* shall direct; lest, ere we are aware, we *find* what we may *fear*, being on all sides in danger our selves to be by them given away to a Foreign Power, before such Orders can reach unto us; for which Orders we now humbly wait.

In the mean time firmly believing, that we have endeavoured nothing but what meer Duty to God and our *Country* calls for at our Hands: We commit our Enterprise unto the blessing of Him, *who hears the cry of the oppressed*, and advise all our Neighbours, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves to joyn with us in Prayers and all just Actions for the Defence of the Land.

PROCLAMATION SENT TO SIR EDMOND ANDROS

AT THE TOWN-HOUSE IN BOSTON,

April 18, 1689.

SIR;

Our Selves and many others the Inhabitants of this Town, and the Places adjacent, being surprized with the peoples sudden taking of Arms; in the first notion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven by the present Accident, are necessitated to acquaint your Excellency, that for the quieting and securing of the People inhabiting in this Country from the imminent Dangers they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tending your own Safety, We judge it necessary you forthwith surrender and deliver up the Government and Fortification to be preserved and disposed according to Order and Direction from the Crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all security from violence to your Self or any of your Gentlemen or Souldiers in Person and Estate; Otherwise we are assured they will endeavour the taking of the Fortification by Storm, if any Opposition be made.

TO SIR EDMOND ANDROSS KT.

WAITE WINTHROP,
SIMON BRADSTREET,
WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
SAMUEL SHRIMPTON,
BARTHOLEMEW GIDNEY,
WILLIAM BROWN,
THOMAS DANFORTH,
JOHN RICHARDS,

ELISHA COOK,
ISAAC ADDINGTON,
JOHN NELSON,
ADAM WINTHROP,
PETER SERGEANT,
JOHN FOSTER,
DAVID WATERHOUSE.

17. CONFESSION AND RECANTATION OF WITCHES

(Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. I, third series, 124-126.)

The Examination of Elizabeth Johnson, taken before me, Dudley Bradstreet, one of their Majesties' Justices of the Peace for Essex, this 10th of August, 1692.

Confession of a supposed witch.

Elizabeth Johnson, being accused of witchcraft, confessed as followeth:

That Goody Carrier brought a book to her, and that she set her hand to it,

That Goody Carrier baptized her when she baptized her daughter Sarah. And that Goody Carrier told her she should be saved if she would be a witch,

That she had been at Salem village with Goody Carrier, and that she had been at the mock sacrament there, and saw Mr. Burroughs there.

She confessed also, that she had afflicted several persons. That the first she afflicted was Lawrence Lacy. And that she and Thomas Carrier afflicted Sarah Phelps, and Mary Walcutt, and Ann Putnam, the 9th instant, and that she had afflicted them this day as she came to town. And that she had afflicted a child of Ephraim Davis, the 9th instant and this day, by pinching it. And that she afflicted Ann Putnam with a spear.

That she and Goody Carrier afflicted Benjamin Abbott. . .

DUDLEY BRADSTREET, *Justice Peace.*

GENTLEMEN;

Confession of a justice of the peace.

I thought it meet to give you this broken account, hoping it may be of some service, I am wholly unacquainted with affairs of this nature, neither have the benefit of books for forms, etc.; but being unadvisedly entered upon service, I am wholly unfit for, beg that my ignorance and failings may be as much covered as conveniently may be; which will be ever acknowledged by

Your poor and unworthy servant,

DUDLEY BRADSTREET.

I know not whether to make any returns. Bonds I have taken. The *custos rotulorum* I know not, etc.

*To the Honoured Bartholemew Gedney, John Hathorne, Esq.,
or any of their Majesties' Justices of the Peace in Salem,
these humbly present.*

18. EXAMINATION FOR WITCHCRAFT

(Thomas Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, II, 31-33.)

The examination and confession (8 Sept. 92.) of Mary Osgood, wife of Captain Osgood of Andover, taken before John Hawthorne and other their Majesties justices.

She confesses, that about 11 years ago, when she was in a melancholy state and condition, she used to walk abroad in her orchard; and upon a certain time, she saw the appearance of a cat, at the end of the house, which yet she thought was a real cat. However, at that time, it diverted her from praying to God, and instead thereof she prayed to the devil; about which time she made a covenant with the devil, who, as a black man, came to her and presented her a book, upon which she laid her finger and that left a red spot: and that upon her signing, the devil told her he was her God, and that she should serve and worship him, and she believes, she consented to it. She says further, that about two years ago, she was carried through the air, in company with deacon Frye's wife, Ebenezer Baker's wife and Goody Tyler, to five mile pond, where she was baptized by the devil, who dipped her face in the water and made her renounce her former baptism, and told her she must be his, soul and body, forever, and that she must serve him, which she promised to do. She says, the renouncing her first baptism was after her dipping, and that she was transported back again through the air, in company with the forenamed persons, in the same manner as she went, and believes they were carried on a pole.

Q. How many persons were on the pole?

A. As I said before, viz. four persons and no more but whom she had named above.—She confesses she had afflicted three persons, John Sawdy, Martha Sprague, and Rose Foster, and that she did it by pinching her bed cloaths, and giving consent the devil should do it in her shape, and that the devil could not do it without her consent.—She confesses the afflicting persons in the court, by the glance of her eye. She says as she was coming down to Salem to be examined, she and the rest of the company with her stopped at Mr. Phillips's to refresh themselves, and the afflicted persons being behind them upon the road, came up just as she was mounting again and were then afflicted, and cried out upon her, so that she was forced to stay until they were all past, and said she only looked that way towards them.

Q. Do you know the devil can take the shape of an innocent person and afflict?

A. I believe he cannot.

Q. Who taught you this way of witchcraft?

A. Satan, and that he promised her abundance of satisfaction and quietness in her future state, but never performed anything; and that she had lived more miserably and more discontented since, than ever before. She confesses further, that she herself, in company with Goody Parker, Goody Tyler, and Goody Dean, had a meeting at Moses Tyler's house last Monday night, to afflict, and that she and Goody Dean carried the shape of Mr. Dean, the minister, between them, to make persons believe that Mr. Dean afflicted.

Q. What hindered you from accomplishing what you intended?

A. The Lord would not suffer it to be, that the devil should afflict in an innocent person's shape.

Q. Have you been at any other witch meetings?

A. I know nothing thereof, as I shall answer in the presence of God and his people; but said, that the black man stood before her, and told her, that what she had confessed was a lie; notwithstanding, she said that what she had confessed was true; and there to put her hand. Her husband

being present was asked, if he judged his wife to be any ways discomposed. He answered, that having lived with her so long, he doth not judge her to be any ways discomposed, but has cause to believe what she says is true.—When Mistress Osgood was first called, she afflicted Martha Sprague and Rose Foster, by the glance of her eyes, and recovered them out of their fits by the touch of her hand. Mary Lacey and Betty Johnson and Hannah Post saw Mistress Osgood afflicting Sprague and Foster.—The said Hannah Post and Mary Lacey and Betty Johnson, jun. and Rose Foster, and Mary Richardson were afflicted by Mistress Osgood, in the time of their examination, and recovered by her touching of their hands.

I underwritten, being appointed by authority, to take this examination, do testify upon oath, taken in court, that this is a true copy of the substance of it, to the best of my knowledge, 5 Jan. 1692-3. The within Mary Osgood was examined before their Majesties justices of the peace in Salem.

Attest. JOHN HIGGINSON, Just. Pac.

19. RECANTATION OF CONFESSORS OF WITCHCRAFT

(Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. III, second series, 221-225.)

Salem, Oct. 19, '92.

The Rev. Mr. I. Mather went to Salem [to visit] the confessours (so called): He conferred with several of them, and they spoke as follows: Mrs. Osgood freely and relentingly said, that the confession which she made upon her examination for witchcraft, and afterwards acknowledged before the honourable judges, was wholly false, and that she was brought to the said confession by the violent urging and unreasonable pressings that were used toward her; she asserted that she never signed to the devill's book, was never baptised by the devill, never afflicted any of the accusers, or gave her consent for their being afflicted. Being asked, why she prefixed a time and spoke of her being baptised etc., about

twelve years since; she replied, and said, that when she had owned the thing, they asked the time; to which she answered, that she knew not the time; but being told that she did know the time and must tell the time, and the like; she considered that about twelve years before she had a fitt of sicknesse, and was melancholy; and so thought that that time might be as proper a time to mention as any, and accordingly did prefix the said time.

Being asked about the cat, in the shape of which she had confessed the devill appeared to her etc.; she replied, that being told that the devill had appeared to her, and must needs appear to her etc.; (she being a witch) she at length did own that the devill had appeared to her; and being press'd to say in what creature's shape he appeared in, she at length did say, that it was in the shape of a cat; remembering that some time before her being apprehended, as she went out at her door, she saw a cat etc.: not as though she any whitt suspected the said cat to be the devill in the day of . . . but because some creature she must mention, and this came thus into her mind at that time. . . .

Goodwife Tyler did say, that when she was first apprehended, she had no fears upon her, and did think that nothing could have made her confesse against herself; but since, she had found to her great grief, that she had wronged the truth, and falsely accused herself; she said; that when she was brought to Salem, her brother Bridges rode with her, and that all along the way from Andover to Salem, her brother kept telling her that she must needs be a witch, since the afflicted accused her, and at her touch were raised out of their fitts, and urging her to confess herself a witch; she as constantly told him, that she was no witch, that she knew nothing of witchcraft, and begg'd of him not to urge her to confesse; however when she came to Salem, she was carried to a room, where her brother on one side, and Mr. John Emerson on the other side did tell her that she was certainly a witch, and that she saw the devill before her eyes at that time (and accordingly the said Emerson would

attempt with his hand to beat him away from her eyes) and they so urged her to confesse, that she wished herself in any dungeon, rather than be so treated; Mr. Emerson told her once and again, Well! I see you will not confesse! Well! I will now leave you, and then you are undone, body and soul forever: Her brother urged her to confesse, and told her that in so doing she could not lye; to which she answered, good Brother, do not say so, for I shall lye if I confesse, and then who shall answer unto God for my lye? He still asserted it, and said that God would not suffer so many good men to be in such an errour about it, and that she would be hang'd, if she did not confesse, and continued so long and so violently to urge and presse her to confesse, that she thought verily her life would have gone from her, and became so terrified in her mind, that she own'd at length almost anything that they propounded to her; but she had wronged her conscience in so doing, she was guilty of a great sin in belying of herself, and desired to mourn for it as long as she lived; This she said and a great deal more of the like nature, and all of it with such affection, sorrow, relenting, grief, and mourning, as that it exceeds any pen for to describe and expresse the same.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRENCH IN AMERICA

20. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IROQUOIS INDIANS

(William Smith, *The History of the Province of New York from the First Discovery to the Year 1732*, Part II, 34, 36 *passim*. London, 1757.)

Organiza-
tion of
Iroquois.

These, of all those innumerable Tribes of Savages, which inhabit the northern part of America, are of most importance to us and the French, both on account of their vicinity and warlike disposition. Before the late incorporation of the Tuscaroras, a People driven by the inhabitants of Carolina from the frontiers of Virginia, they consisted of five confederate Cantons. What in particular gave rise to this League, and when it took place, are questions which neither the Natives, nor Europeans, pretend to answer. Each of these Nations is divided into three families, or Clans, of different ranks, bearing for their arms, and being distinguished by the names of the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf.

Military
prowess.

No people in the world perhaps, have higher notions than these Indians of military glory. All the surrounding nations have felt the effects of their prowess; and many not only became their Tributaries, but were so subjugated to their power, that without their consent, they durst not commence either peace or war.

Though a regular police for the preservation of harmony within, and the defence of the State against invasions from without, is not to be expected from the people of whom I am now writing, yet perhaps, they have paid more attention to it than is generally allowed. Their government is suited

to their condition. A people whose riches consist not so much in abundance, as in a freedom from want; who are circumscribed by no boundaries, who live by hunting, and not by agriculture, must always be free, and therefore subject to no other authority, than such as consists with the liberty necessarily arising from their circumstances. All their affairs, whether respecting peace or war, are under the direction of their Sachems, or chief men. Great exploits and public virtue procure the esteem of a people, and qualify a man to advise in Council, and execute the plan concerted for the advantage of his country: thus whoever appears to the Indians in this advantageous light, commences as a Sachem without any other ceremony.

The
Sachems.

As there is no other way of arriving at this dignity, so it ceases, unless an uniform zeal and activity for the common good, is uninterruptedly continued. Some have thought it hereditary, but that is a mistake. The son, is indeed, respected for his father's services, but without personal merit, he can never share in the government; which were it otherwise, must sink into perfect disgrace. The children of such are distinguished for their patriotism, moved by the consideration of their birth, and the perpetual incitements to virtue constantly inculcated into them, imitate their father's exploits, and thus attain to the same honours and influence; which accounts for the opinion that the Title and Power of Sachem is hereditary.

Each of these republics has its own particular chiefs, who hear and determine all complaints in Council, and though they have no officers for the execution of Justice, yet their decrees are always obeyed, from the general reproach that would follow a contempt of their advice. The condition of this people exempts them from factions, the common disease of popular governments. It is impossible to gain a party amongst them by indirect means; for no man has either honour, riches, or power to bestow.

All affairs which concern the general interest are determined in a great assembly of the chiefs of each Canton, usually

Assembly
of Chiefs.

held at Onondaga, the center of their country. Upon emergencies, they act separately, but nothing can bind the League but the voice of the general convention.

French
and
Iroquois.

The French, upon the maxim, "divide et impera," have tried all possible means to divide these Republics, and sometimes have even sown great jealousies amongst them. In consequence of this plan, they have seduced many families to withdraw to Canada, and there settled them in regular towns, under the command of a fort, and the tuition of missionaries.

Houses.

The manners of these savages are as simple as their government. Their houses are a few crotched stakes thrust into the ground, and over-laid with bark. A fire is kindled in the middle, and an aperture left at the top for the conveyance of the smoke. Whenever a considerable number of those huts are collected, they have a Castle, as it is called, consisting of a square without bastions, surrounded with Pallisades. They have no other fortification; and this is only designed as an asylum for their old men, their wives and children, when the rest are gone out to war. They live almost entirely without care. While the women, or squaws, cultivate a little spot of ground for corn, the men employ themselves in hunting. . . . Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taste is very singular. I have seen rings affixed, not only to their ears, but their noses. Bracelets of silver and brass around their wrists, are very common. The women plait their hair, and tie it up behind in a bag, perhaps in imitation of the French beaux in Canada. Though the Indians are capable of sustaining great hardships, yet they cannot endure much labor, being rather fleet, than strong. Their men are taller than the Europeans, rarely corpulent, always beardless, straight limbed, of a tawny complexion, and black uncurled hair. In their food they have no manner of delicacy, for though venison is their ordinary diet, yet sometimes they eat dogs, bears, and even snakes. Their cookery is of two kinds, boiled or roasted; to perform the latter, the meat is penetrated by a short sharp

Love of
ornaments

Not
laborers.

Food.

stick set in the ground, inclining towards the fire, and turned as occasion requires. They are hospitable to strangers, though few Europeans would relish their highest favors of this kind, for they are very nasty both in their garments and food. . . .

Since they became acquainted with the Europeans, their warlike apparatus is a musket, hatchet, and a long knife. Their boys still accustom themselves to bows and arrows, and are so dextrous in the use of them, that a lad of sixteen, will strike an English shilling five times in ten at twelve or fourteen yards distance. Their men are excellent marksmen, both with the gun and hatchet; their dexterity at the latter is very extraordinary, for they rarely miss the object, though at a considerable distance. The hatchet in the flight perpetually turns round, and yet always strikes the mark with the edge.

Weapons.

Before they go out, they have a feast upon dog's flesh, and a great war dance. At these, the warriors, who are frightfully painted with vermilion, rise up and sing their own exploits, or those of their ancestors, and thereby kindle a military enthusiasm in the whole company. The day after the dance, they march out a few miles in a row, observing a profound silence. The procession being ended, they strip the bark from a large oak, and paint the design of their expedition on the naked trunk. The figure of a canoe, with the number of men in it, determines the strength of their party; and by a deer, a fox, or some other emblem painted at the head of it, we discover against what nation they are gone out.

War-dance.

The Five Nations being devoted to war, every art is contrived to diffuse a military spirit through the whole body of their people. The ceremonies attending the return of a party; seem calculated in particular for that purpose. The day before they enter the Village, two heralds advance, and at a small distance set up a yell, which by its modulation intimates either good or bad news. If the former, the Village is alarmed, and an entertainment provided for the con-

Return of a war-party.

querors, who in the mean time approach in sight: one of them bears the scalps stretched over a bow, and elevated upon a long pole. The boldest man in the town comes out, and receives it, and instantly flies to the hut where the rest are collected. If he is overtaken, he is beaten unmercifully; but if he outruns the pursuer, he participates in the honour of the victors, who at their first entrance receive no compliments, nor speak a single word till the end of the feast. Their parents, wives, and children then are admitted, and treat them with the profoundest respect. After these salutations, one of the conquerors is appointed to relate the whole adventure, to which the rest attentively listen, without asking a question, and the whole concludes with a savage dance.

Methods
of attack.

Treatment
of prison-
ers.

The Indians never fight in the field, or upon equal terms, but always skulk and attack, by surprise, in small parties, meeting every night at a place of rendezvous. Scarce any enemy can escape them, for by the disposition of the grass and leaves, they follow his track with great speed anywhere but over a rock. Their barbarity is shocking to human nature. Women and children they generally kill and scalp, because they would retard their progress, but the men they carry into captivity. If any woman has lost a relation, and inclines to receive the prisoner in his stead, he not only escapes a series of the most inhuman tortures, and death itself, but enjoys every immunity they can bestow, and is esteemed a member of the family, into which he is adopted. To part with him would be the most ignominious conduct, and considered as selling the blood of the deceased; and for this reason it is not without the greatest difficulty, that a Captive is redeemed.

Peace
cere-
monies.

When the Indians incline to peace, a messenger is sent to the enemy with a pipe, the bowl of which is made of soft, red, marble; and a long reed beautifully painted, and adorned with the gay plumage of birds, forms the stem. This is his infallible protection from any assault on the way. The envoy makes his proposals to the enemy, who if they ap-

prove them, ratify the preliminaries to the peace, by smoking through the pipe, and from that instant, a general cessation of arms takes place. The French call it a Calumet. It is used, as far as I can learn, by all the Indian nations upon the Continent. The rights of it are esteemed sacred, and have been only invaded by the Flat Heads; in just indignation for which, the Confederates maintained a war with them for near thirty years. . . .

21. FATHER MARQUETTE'S TWO JOURNEYS

Jacques Marquette joined the order of Jesuits and came to America in 1666. After spending five years in the missions along the Saint Lawrence River, he came to the mission of Saint Ignace, then located on Mackinac Island, but later removed to the mainland. Here he was joined by Joliet, who had been engaged in making explorations for deposits of copper. Joliet brought orders from the governor of New France commanding him, with Marquette for his companion, to search for a *Gréat River* which was supposed to flow into the Gulf of California.—(Jesuit Relations, Marquette's Journal. Thwaites's translation. With permission of Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, Ohio.)

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF FATHER MARQUETTE

We were not long in preparing all our equipment, although we were about to begin a voyage, the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some smoked meat, constituted all our provisions; with these we embarked—Monsieur Jolliet and myself, with five men—in two bark canoes, fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an undertaking.

Preparation for the expedition.

Accordingly, on the 17th day of May, 1673, we started from the Mission of St. Ignace at Michilimakinac, where I then was. The joy that we felt at being selected for this expedition animated our courage, and rendered the labor of paddling from morning to night agreeable to us. And because we were going to seek unknown countries, we took every precaution in our power, so that, if our undertaking

were hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. To that end we obtained all the information that we could from savages who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a map of the whole of that new country; on it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it.

The seven men rowed west from the mission at Mackinac, crossed northern Lake Michigan, and turned south on Green Bay to the mouth of the Fox River, and crossed a portage to the Wisconsin River.

Down the
Wisconsin.

The river on which we embarked is called Meskousing [Wisconsin]. It is very wide; it has a sandy bottom, which forms various shoals that render its navigation very difficult. . . . Our route lay to the southwest, and, after navigating about thirty leagues, we saw a spot presenting all the appearances of an iron mine; and, in fact, one of our party who had formerly seen such mines, assures us that the one which we found is very good and very rich. It is covered with three feet of good soil, and is quite near a chain of rocks, the base of which is covered by very fine trees. After proceeding forty leagues on this same route, we arrived at the mouth of our river; and, at forty-two and a half degrees of latitude we safely entered Mississippi on the 17th of June, with a joy that I cannot express.

On the
Missis-
sippi.

We gently followed its course, which runs toward the south and southeast, as far as the 42nd degree of latitude. Here we plainly saw that its aspect was completely changed. There are hardly any woods or mountains; the islands are more beautiful, and are covered with finer trees. We saw only deer and cattle, bustards, and swans without wings, because they drop their plumage in this country. . . . When we cast our nets into the water, we caught sturgeon. . . .

When we reached the parallel of 41 degrees 28 minutes, following the same direction, we found that the turkeys had

taken the place of game; and the pisikious,* or wild cattle, that of the other animals.

We call them "wild cattle," because they are very similar to our domestic cattle. They are not longer, but are nearly as large again, and more corpulent. When our people killed one, three persons had much difficulty in moving it. The head is very large; the forehead is flat, and a foot and a half wide between the horns, which are exactly like those of our oxen, but black and much larger. Under the neck they have a sort of large dewlap, which hangs down; and on the back is a rather high hump. The whole of the head, the neck, and a portion of the shoulders, are covered with a thick mane like that of horses; it forms a crest a foot long, which makes them hideous, and, falling over their eyes, prevents them from seeing what is before them. The remainder of the body is covered with a heavy coat of curly hair, almost like that of our sheep, but much stronger and thicker. It falls off in summer, and the skin becomes as soft as velvet. At that season, the savages use the hides for making fine robes, which they paint in various colors. The flesh and the fat of the pisikious are excellent, and constitute the best dish at feasts. Moreover, they are very fierce; and not a year passes without their killing some savages. When attacked, they catch a man on their horns, if they can, toss him in the air, and then throw him on the ground, after which they trample him under foot, and kill him. If a person fire at them from a distance, with either a bow or a gun, he must, immediately after the shot, throw himself down and hide in the grass; for if they perceive him who has fired, they run at him, and attack him. As their legs are thick and rather short, they do not run very fast, as a rule, except when angry. They are scattered about the prairie in herds; I have seen one of 400. . . .

Buffalo.

Marquette and Joliet came upon a tribe of Illinois Indians, on the west bank of the Mississippi, possibly near the mouth of the Des Moines River.

* The Indian name for the bison or buffalo.

Meeting
with the
Indians.

Seeing all assembled and silent, I spoke to them by four presents that I gave them. By the first, I told them that we were journeying peacefully to visit the nations dwelling on the river as far as the sea.* By the second, I announced to them that God, who had created them, had pity on them, inasmuch as, after they had been so long ignorant of him, he wished to make himself known to all the peoples; that I was sent by him for that purpose; and that it was for them to acknowledge and obey him. By the third, I said that the great captain of the French informed them that it was he who restored peace everywhere; and that he had subdued the Iroquois. Finally, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all the information that they had about the sea, and about the nations through whom we must pass to reach it. . . .

The council was followed by a great feast, consisting of four dishes, which had to be partaken of in accordance with all their fashions. The first course was a great wooden platter full of sagamité—that is to say, meal of Indian corn boiled in water, and seasoned with fat. The master of ceremonies filled a spoon with sagamité three or four times, and put it to my mouth as if I were a little child. He did the same to Monsieur Jolliet. As a second course, he caused a second platter to be brought, on which were three fish. He took some pieces of them, removed the bones therefrom, and, after blowing upon them to cool them, he put them in our mouths as one would give food to a bird. For the third course, they brought a large dog, that had just been killed; but, when they learned that we did not eat this meat, they removed it from before us. Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest morsels of which were placed in our mouths.

Account of
the Illi-
nois.

When one speaks the word “Illinois,” it is as if one said in their language, “the men,”—as if the other savages were looked upon by them merely as animals. . . .

* It had been supposed that the Mississippi River flowed into the Gulf of California. But on this journey, as Marquette and Jolliet noted the direction the stream was taking, they became convinced that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

When the Illinois depart to go to war, the whole village must be notified by a loud shout, which is uttered at the doors of their cabins, the night and morning before their departure. The captains are distinguished from the warriors by wearing red scarfs. These are made, with considerable skill, from the hair of bears and wild cattle. They paint their faces with red ocher, great quantities of which are found at a distance of some days' journey from the village. They live by hunting, game being plentiful in that country, and on Indian corn, of which they always have a good crop; consequently, they have never suffered from famine. They also sow beans and melons, which are excellent, especially those that have red seeds. Their squashes are not of the best; they dry them in the sun, to eat them during the winter and the spring. Their cabins are very large, and are roofed and floored with mats made of rushes. They make all their utensils of wood, and their ladles out of the heads of cattle, whose skulls they know so well how to prepare that they use these ladles with ease for eating their *sagamité*. . . .

Here is one of the songs they are in the habit of singing. They give it a certain turn which cannot be sufficiently expressed by note: *Ninahani, ninahani, ninahani, nani ongo*.

We take leave of our Illinois at the end of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon. We embark in the sight of all the people who admire our little canoes, for they have never seen any like them.

Some distance below the mouth of the Ohio they met a band of Indians who informed them that they were not more than ten days from the sea.

This news animated our courage, and made us paddle with fresh ardor. We thus push forward, and no longer see so many prairies, because both shores of the river are bordered with lofty trees. The cottonwood, elm, and bass-wood trees there are admirable for their height and thickness. The great numbers of wild cattle, which we heard bellowing,

led us to believe that the prairies are near. We also saw quail on the water's edge. We killed a little paroquet, one half of whose head was red, the other half and the neck yellow, and the whole body green. . . .

Monsieur Jollyinget and I held another council, to deliberate upon what we should do—whether we should push on, or remain content with the discovery which we had made. After attentively considering that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is at the latitude of 31 degrees 60 minutes, while we were at 33 degrees 40 minutes, we judged that we could not be more than two or three days' journey from it; and that, beyond a doubt, the Mississippi River discharges into the Florida or Mexican gulf, and not to the east in Virginia, whose sea-coast is at 34 degrees latitude—which we had passed, without, however, having as yet reached the sea—or to the west in California, because in that case our route would have been to the west, or the west southwest, . . . We had obtained all the information that could be desired in regard to this discovery. All these reasons induced us to decide upon returning; this we announced to the savages, and, after a day's rest, made our preparations for it.

After a month's navigation, while descending the Mississippi from the 42nd to the 34th degree, and beyond, and after preaching the Gospel as well as I could to the nations that I met, we start on the 17th of July from the village of the Akensea, to retrace our steps. We therefore reascend the Mississippi, which gives us much trouble in breasting its currents. It is true that we leave it, at about the 38th degree, to enter another river, which greatly shortens our road, and takes us with but little effort to the lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan].

We have seen nothing like this river that we enter, as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods; its cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, paroquets, and even beaver. There are many small lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is wide, deep, and still, for sixty-five

leagues. In the spring and during part of the summer there is only one portage of half a league. We found on it a village of Illinois called Kaskasia, consisting of 74 cabins. They received us very well, and obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them. One of the chiefs of this nation, with his young men, escorted us to the lake of the Illinois, whence, at last, at the end of September, we reached the Bay des Puantz [Green Bay], from which we had started at the beginning of June.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF FATHER MARQUETTE, WRITTEN BY
HIMSELF AND SUPPLEMENTED BY FATHER DABLON'S
RELATION

Marquette passed the winter at the mission of St. Francis, near Green Bay. Late the next summer, with two Frenchmen as companions, Marquette set out for the Illinois along the western shore of Lake Michigan. They wintered on the Chicago portage.

Having been compelled to remain at St. François throughout the summer on account of an ailment, of which I was cured in the month of September, I awaited there the return of our people from down below [Quebec], in order to learn what I was to do with regard to my wintering. They brought me orders to proceed to the mission of la Conception among the Illinois. . . .

Having encamped near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther, since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself too much fatigue. . . .

DABLON'S CONTINUATION OF MARQUETTE'S JOURNEY*

- On at last arriving at the village, he was received as an angel from Heaven. He resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly which he called together in the open air,

* Marquette was too ill to continue the daily entries in his journal.

the cabins being too small to contain all the people. It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village,* which was selected for the great council; this was adorned after the fashion of the country, by covering it with mats and bear-skins. Then the father, having directed them to stretch out upon lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the blessed Virgin, which were visible on all sides. The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the father, and of all the young men, who remained standing. They numbered more than 1,500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous—the village being composed of 5 or 600 fires. The father addressed the whole body of people, and conveyed to them ten messages, by means of ten presents which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. . . .

After the Illinois, filled with great esteem for the Gospel, had taken leave of the father,† he continued his journey, and shortly after reached the lake of the Illinois, upon whose waters he had to journey nearly a hundred leagues, by an unknown route, whereon he had never before traveled; for he was obliged to coast along the southern [Eastern] shore of the lake, having come by the northern [Western]. But his strength was so rapidly diminishing that his two men despaired of being able to bring him alive to the end of their journey. . . .

They accordingly brought him to the land, lighted a little fire for him, and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark. . . . And so, with a countenance beaming and all aglow, he expired without any struggle, and so gently that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep. . . .

* Near *Starved Rock*, Illinois.

† Marquette, after remaining about two weeks, was forced, because of ill health, to set out for Saint Ignace.

22. LA SALLE AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, was born in 1643, of an old and wealthy family of Rouen, France.* In the year 1666 he came to Canada and soon began his labors as an explorer.

A friendship sprang up between La Salle and the new governor, Count Frontenac. When the latter, in 1673, in his desire to shut out the English at Albany from the trade with the Indians of the Northwest, erected a fort, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, he placed La Salle in command. Going to France, the following year, La Salle was granted, by the King, the right of *seigneur* over Fort Frontenac and extensive surrounding territory and was also given a title of nobility. In return, he was to rebuild the fort of masonry at his own expense and become responsible for its maintenance. For two years he was engaged in developing the resources of Fort Frontenac as a frontier post, and a village of French families was established under the protection of the fort. But the ambition of La Salle was not satisfied. He dreamed of the great river, partially explored by Joliet and Marquette, which he believed flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. It became his desire to discover its mouth, gain control of the trade and make it a stronghold against the encroachments of the Spaniards and the English, and possibly from its headwaters reach China and Japan.

In order to gain authority to carry out his plan, La Salle, in 1677, again visited France. His description of the wealth of the wonderful country which he desired to explore and its future value to France won the favor of Colbert, then chief minister of Louis XIV. The King granted him *letters patent* for five years.†

On his return in September, 1678, La Salle brought with him iron, cordage and sails, and also ship-carpenters who were to construct two vessels for fur-trading on the Lakes and on some branch of the Mississippi. Among the thirty-two men who accompanied him to Canada, none proved of as much service to La Salle as Henri de Tonty, a young adventurous Italian officer, full of energy and courage. Father Louis Hennepin, who was anxious to join the expedition, and other missionaries of the order of Recollects, met the party at Quebec. Arriving at the head of the Niagara river, in

* He signed his name De la Salle. His name was Robert Cavalier. The name by which he is known, Sieur de La Salle, was derived from an estate of his family near Rouen.

† An official document issued by a king (or other sovereign) which granted some privilege to an individual or company was called "Letters Patent."

January, a fortified warehouse was built. By spring a vessel of forty tons burden, the *Griffin*, was also completed.*

On the seventh of August, La Salle and his companions, thirty-four in all, embarked on the *Griffin* and set sail on the waters of Lake Erie. After a voyage of twenty days, the Jesuit mission at St. Ignace was reached. Early in September, they again embarked and proceeded to the entrance of Green Bay. Here the vessel was loaded with furs, which had been collected by an advance party sent out by La Salle the year before, and was started back to Fort Niagara.

La Salle with fourteen men, in four canoes, then advanced along the western shore of Lake Michigan. Tonty with twenty men proceeded along the eastern shore and the two leaders, after escaping death from hunger, from storms and at the hands of Indians, met at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, where they built a fort. On December 3, they ascended that river some seventy miles to the portage, near the site of the present city of South Bend, Indiana.

TONTY'S DESCRIPTION OF LA SALLE'S DISCOVERY OF THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

We made the portage, which extends about two leagues, and came to the source of the Illinois river. We embarked there, and ascending [descending] the river for 100 leagues arrived at a village of the savages.† They were absent hunting, so as we had no provisions we opened some caches of Indian corn. During this journey some of our Frenchmen were so fatigued that they determined to leave us, but the night they intended to go was so cold that their plan was broken up.

As it was necessary to fortify ourselves during the winter, we made a fort which we called Crevecoeur.‡ Part of our

* The vessel was built at the mouth of Cayuga Creek, which flows into Niagara River above the cataract. La Salle, in the meantime, with two companions returned to Fort Frontenac for supplies, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, passing through the territory of the Iroquois. They had for food only a bag of parched corn, which failed them two days before they reached the fort. See Parkman, La Salle, p. 135.

† Located near the site of the present village of Utica, Illinois. Across the river stands the lofty cliff known as "Starved Rock." This Indian village contained several distinct tribes of the Illinois. The population changed from time to time. In 1675 Marquette is said to have addressed at this place 1,500 men, beside women and children.

‡ Crevecoeur was a stronghold in the Netherlands which had been captured by Louis XIV. The fort was located near the site of Peoria, Illinois.

people deserted and they had even put poison into our kettle. M. de la Salle was poisoned, but he was saved by some antidote a friend had given him in France. The desertion of these men gave us less annoyance than the effect which it had on the minds of the savages.

M. de la Salle commenced building a boat to descend the river. He sent a Father Recollect [Hennepin], with the Sieur Deau to discover the nation of the Sioux 400 leagues from the Illinois on the Mississippi river southwards [northward], a river that runs not less than 800 leagues to the sea without rapids.* He determined to go himself, by land, to Fort Frontenac, because he had heard nothing of the boat which he had sent to Niagara. He gave me the command of this place, and left us on the 22d of March with five men. . . .

Father Hennepin sent to find the source of the Mississippi.

La Salle had directed Tonty to go to "Starved Rock" and there build a strong fort. On the way Tonty was deserted by all of his companions save five men. Early in September the Illinois Indians were attacked by the Iroquois. Tonty and his companions were made prisoners by the Iroquois, a young warrior attempting to kill Tonty. They were finally allowed to escape. One of the number met his death, within a few hours, at the hands of the Kickapoos. The survivors journeyed by the way of the Des Plaines River and Chicago River to Lake Michigan, and after great suffering finally reached the Jesuit mission on Green Bay. Had they gone by the Saint Joseph River, they would doubtless have met La Salle, who had learned of their disaster and was hastening with a party to their relief. La Salle found the fort at the mouth of that river in ruins. He left some of his men to rebuild it, and with six others again advanced to the Illinois River. He found that the Illinois tribes had been driven from their homes. December 4 he set out to follow the river to its mouth, and reached the Mississippi. Con-

* During the winter several delegations of Indians from distant tribes came to visit the Illinois in order to see the white men. Among them were the Sioux who dwelt near the sources of the Mississippi. They invited the French to visit them in their homes, which they said were near the "western sea." Hennepin is spoken of as the leader of the party of three selected to go to explore the upper Mississippi. Michel Accault (Ako), noted for his bravery and for his knowledge of Indian languages, was the real leader. Hennepin told the story of the expedition and assumed a large place for himself. The party ascended the Mississippi, to the Falls of Saint Anthony, some five hundred miles above the mouth of the Illinois. They were taken prisoners by the Sioux, but were rescued by Duluth, who, with four other Frenchmen, was visiting the Sioux to secure their trade in furs.

trary to the wishes of his comrades, who desired to descend the river, La Salle turned northward, hoping to find some trace of Tonty. Day after day the party plunged through the snow up to the waist, suffering from extreme cold and hunger, and finally, at the end of January, were again at the mouth of the Saint Joseph. Here he learned from some hunting Indians that Tonty was safe at Green Bay. Fort Miami was rebuilt, and on May 25 La Salle set out for Mackinac. Here, to the great joy of both, the two leaders met again. Neither of them thought of abandoning the enterprise. After going to Canada, partially satisfying his creditors, and obtaining fresh supplies, La Salle and his party returned to Fort Miami, reaching there December 19. Tonty's narration continues as follows:

Voyage
down the
Missis-
sippi.

We went in canoes to the River Chicagou, where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois.* The rivers being frozen, we made sledges and dragged our baggage thirty leagues below the village of Illinois, where, finding the navigation open, we arrived at the end of January† at the great River Mississippi. We descended the river, and found six leagues below, on the right, a great river,‡ which comes from the west, on which there are numerous nations. We slept at its mouth. The next day we went on to the village of Tamarous, six leagues off on the left. There was no one there, all the people being at their winter quarters in the woods. We made marks to inform the savages that we had passed, and continued our route as far as the River Ouabache,§ which is eighty leagues from that of Illinois. It comes from the east, and is more than 500 leagues in length. It is by this river that the Iroquois advance to make war against the nations of the south. Continuing our voyage about sixty leagues, we came to a place which was named Fort Prudhomme, because one of our men lost himself there when out hunting and was nine days without food. As they were looking for him they fell in with two Chikasas savages, whose village was three days' journey inland. They have

* There were 54 members in the party, 23 being Frenchmen, 18 Indian warriors, 10 squaws and 3 Indian children.

† February 6.

‡ The Missouri—called by the French, Emissourita.

§ The Ohio—Oyo of the Iroquois.

2,000 warriors, the greatest number of whom have flat heads, which is considered a beauty among them. . . . We proceeded on our course, and after sailing 40 leagues, arrived at the sea on the 7th of April, 1682.

M. de la Salle sent canoes to inspect the channels; some of them went to the channel on the right hand, some to the left, and M. de la Salle chose the centre. In the evening each made his report, that is to say, that the channels were very fine, wide, and deep. We encamped on the right bank; we erected the arms of the King,* and returned several times to inspect the channels. The same report was made. The river is 800 leagues long, without rapids, 400 from the country of the Scioux, and 400 from the mouth of the Illinois river to the sea. The banks are almost uninhabitable, on account of the spring floods. The woods are all those of a boggy district, the country one of canes and briars and of trees torn up by the roots; but a league or two from the river, the most beautiful country in the world, prairies, woods of mulberry trees, vines, and fruits that we were not acquainted with. The savages gather the Indian corn twice a year. In the lower part of the river, which might be settled, the river makes a bend north and south, and in many places every now and then is joined by streams on the right and left. The river is only navigable (for large vessels) as far as the village of Natches, for above that place the river winds too much; but this does not prevent the navigation of the river from the confluence of the Ouabache and the Mississippi as far as the sea. There are but few beavers, but, to make amends, there is a large number of buffaloes, bears, large wolves, stags and hinds in abundance, and some lead mines, which yield two-thirds of ore to one of refuse. As these savages are stationary, and have some habits of subor-

The mouth
of the
Missis-
sippi
River.

* This ceremony took place April 9, 1682. A rude column was made out of the trunk of a tree. Upon this was placed the *arms* of the King, made out of one of their copper kettles. Amidst the firing of muskets and the shouts of "Vive le Roi," the column was raised by La Salle, who thus took possession of the Mississippi valley in the name of Louis XIV, King of France.

dination, they might be obliged to make silk in order to procure necessities for themselves; bringing to them from France the eggs of silkworms, for the forests are full of mulberry trees. This would be a valuable trade. . . . We then went on to the Taencas, and then to the Arkansas, where we were very well received. From thence we came to Fort Prudhomme, where M. de la Salle fell dangerously ill, which obliged him to send me forward, on the 6th of May, to arrange his affairs at Missilimakinac [Mackinac]. . . .

23. FRENCH AND ENGLISH CONTEST FOR THE CONTROL OF THE OHIO VALLEY

By the year 1750 it was appreciated by both the French and English authorities that the struggle for the control of the Ohio was inevitable. Because of the increase in the numbers of English traders and the grants of lands on the Ohio, the French determined upon a more vigorous policy to maintain their supremacy. In 1749, Captain Céleron de Bienville at the head of two hundred and thirty men set out to take military possession of the Ohio country. As he passed down the Ohio he buried leaden plates at the mouths of a number of the streams flowing into the Ohio. The inscription on these plates indicated that France had retaken possession of the country. During the year 1753, Fort Presque Isle [Erie], and Fort Le Bœuf were erected by the French and the following year they built Fort Venango and Fort Duquesne [Pittsburgh]. Their plan was to construct a chain of forts by which they could maintain control of the valley.—(E. B. O'Callaghan, Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Paris Documents, 1745-8, X, 239, 258 *passim*.)

MINISTERIAL MINUTE ON THE ATTEMPTS OF THE ENGLISH TO SETTLE ON THE OHIO

English
on the
Ohio.

The English always occupied with plans to extend their possessions, and to confine those of his Majesty, in North America, have undertaken since the last war to carry their trade towards the Beautiful river [Ohio] which is situated in the interior, between Canada and Louisiana, and forms the principal communication between these two Colonies; to

corrupt the Indian nations of that quarter, and even to establish posts there.

The Marquis de la Jonquière having been informed of those attempts, adopted measures last year to prevent their success. He organized divers detachments of Frenchmen and Indians, which, according to his arrangements, were to form a junction this spring to proceed at once to the Beautiful river, drive the English from it, and bring back the Indians who might have allowed themselves to be debauched by the intrigues of that nation.

French
resistance.

News of the result was expected at the end of this year, but private letters have arrived from Canada stating that the Marquis de la Jonquière has abandoned that project, and insinuating that private interest has led some one, in whom he had placed his confidence, to dissuade him from it, by making him apprehend creating thereby a general Indian war.

This motive would be good, if it were valid. It is proper always to avoid, as much as possible, war with the Indians; but, it appears, that on this occasion, it was not difficult to guarantee himself against it.

The question is not to operate against the Indians, but to prevent the interloping trade the English are driving in a country belonging to us, and which, previous to the last war, they would be careful not to dispute us; this is proposed to be effected by checking at the same time the views they entertain of establishing posts there. It is easy, therefore, to render the Indians indifferent in this regard; nay, even to induce them to understand that for the sake of their own tranquillity and of the freedom of their trade, in which we have never clogged them, they must wish that we should stop the progress of the English schemes.

'Twould therefore be unfortunate if the Marquis de la Jonquière has abandoned the project he has formed for that purpose; and although the private advices announcing that change on his part may be unfounded, it appears, nevertheless, proper not to keep him in ignorance of them; to inform

him, at the same time, that his Majesty continues to expect the execution of this project; that there is, in fact, no other course to adopt than to drive from the Beautiful river any European foreigners who will happen to be there, so as to make them lose all taste for returning thither, observing, notwithstanding, the caution practicable in these sorts of matters.

French
claims to
the Ohio.

As for the rest, there is no reason to apprehend any justifiable complaints on the part of the Court of England. The French were the discoverers of the Beautiful river, which has always served as a communication, as already observed, between Canada and Louisiana. We always carried on trade there without any interruption, and have sent considerable detachments thither on various occasions.

23rd September, 1751.

The Marquis de la Jonquière reported last year, that the Indian nations of the Upper Countries were threatening a sort of general conspiracy against the French, and that the English who succeeded in debauching them by presents and intrigues, were pledged to sustain them by arms.

French
plans.

He stated, at the same time, that the reports made to him by some faithful Nations, caused him to conclude that effectual measures must be indispensably adopted, both to bring the nations that had joined the confederacy, back to their attachment to France, or to oblige them to return to their duty, and to destroy, by force of arms, the posts the English might have undertaken to erect on our territory towards the River Ohio, whence they set all these movements on foot; and this Governor transmitted at the same time, a plan of operations which he was to execute, and which consisted principally in despatching at the beginning of autumn last year, several detachments for various posts, whence they were to make a junction at the opening of the spring, at a rendezvous, indicated to them, to act according to circumstances.

We learn by letters received from the Marquis de la Jon-

quière, and dated last September, that his plan was badly executed; that the officers entrusted with its execution had undertaken nothing against the rebellious Indians, nor against the English posts, and that the movements of those Indians are becoming every day more dangerous. . . .

MINUTE OF INSTRUCTIONS TO BE GIVEN M. DUQUESNE

The River Ohio, otherwise called the Beautiful River, and its tributaries belong indisputably to France, by virtue of its discovery by Sieur de la Salle; of the trading posts the French have had there since, and of possession which is so much the more unquestionable as it constitutes the most frequent communication from Canada to Louisiana. It is only within a few years that the English have undertaken to trade there; and now they pretend to exclude us from it.

French vs.
English
claims.

They have not, up to the present time, however, maintained that these rivers belong to them; they pretend only that the Iroquois are masters of them and being the Sovereigns of these Indians, that they can exercise their rights. But 'tis certain that these Indians have none, and that, besides, the pretended sovereignty of the English over them is a chimera.

Meanwhile 'tis of the greatest importance to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter. Should they succeed there, they would cut off the communication between the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and would be in a position to trouble them, and to ruin both the one and the other, independent of the advantages they would at once experience in their trade to the prejudice of ours.

Any complaints that may be presented to the Court of England against the English governors would be altogether futile. On the one hand it would be very difficult to obtain proofs of the most serious facts; and on the other, no matter what proofs may be produced, that Court will find means

to elude all satisfaction, especially as long as the boundaries are not settled.

It is necessary then, to act on the spot, and the question to be determined is, what means are the most proper.

It is not known what steps the Marquis de la Jonquière will take this year; but whatever they be, it appears that the orders to be given on this subject to M. Duquesne, who is to succeed him in the government, must have principally for their object, to avoid, as much as it will be possible, an Indian war on that account.

Wars of this character are always extremely expensive, and very rarely productive of any real advantage.

French
plans to
control
Indians.

Therefore, without undertaking, as the Marquis de la Jonquière appears to have proposed, to drive from the River Ohio the Indians who are looked upon as rebels or suspected, and without wishing even to destroy the liberty of their trade, it is thought best to adhere to two principal points.

1st. To make every possible effort to drive the English from our territory, and to prevent them coming there to trade.

2nd. To give the Indians to understand at the same time that no harm is intended them, that they will have liberty to go as much as they please to the English to trade, but will not be allowed to receive these on our territory.

There is reason to believe that by this course of conduct; by providing our posts with plenty of goods and preventing our traders dictating to the Indians, our trade will soon recover the superiority over that of the English in those parts; for 'tis certain the Indians do not like to go into their towns, nor forts. . . .

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO M. DE ST. PIERRE

SIR,

English
claims on
Ohio.

The lands upon the river Ohio, in the western parts of the Colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain that it is a matter of equal concern and surprise to me, to hear that a body of French

forces are erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river, within his Majesty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of these acts of hostility lay me under the necessity of sending, in the name of the King, my master, the bearer hereof, George Washington, Esq., one of the Adjutant-Generals of the forces of this dominion, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns. If these facts be true, and you think fit to justify your proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me by whose authority and instructions you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force, and invaded the King of Great Britain's territories, in the manner complained of; that according to the purport and resolution of your answer, I may act agreeably to the commission I am honored with, from the King, my master. However, sir, in obedience to my instructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King, etc.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

October 31, 1753.

24. GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH POSTS ON THE OHIO, 1753

When George Washington set out as the agent of Governor Dinwiddie to the French posts on the Ohio, he was accompanied by Christopher Gist, who, as agent of the Ohio Company, had already gone over the route for the purpose of exploring the lands claimed by that company. The following account of Washington's expedition is taken from Christopher Gist's Journals, 80 *passim*.

Wednesday 14 November, 1753.—Then Major George Washington came to my house at Will's Creek, and delivered me a letter from the council in Virginia, requesting me to

attend him up to the commandant of the French fort on the Ohio River.

the expedition
sets out.

Thursday 15.—We set out, and at night encamped at George's Creek, about eight miles, where a messenger came with letters from my son, who was just returned from his people at the Cherokees, and lay sick at the mouth of Conegocheague. But as I found myself entered again on public business, and Major Washington and all the company unwilling I should return I wrote and sent medicines to my son, and so continued my journey, and encamped at a big hill in the forks of Youghiogany, about eighteen miles. . . .

Sunday 18.—And at night got to my house in the new settlement about twenty-one miles; snow about ankle deep. . . .

Tuesday 4.—Set out about fifteen miles, to the town of Venango, where we were kindly and complaisantly received by Monsieur Joncaire, the French interpreter for the Six Nations. . . .

arrival
at the
French
posts.

Tuesday 11.—We set out, travelled about fifteen miles to the French fort, the sun being set. Our interpreter gave the commandant notice of our being over the creek; upon which he sent several officers to conduct us to the fort, and they received us with a great deal of complaisance.

Wednesday 12.—The Major gave the passport, showed his commission, and offered the Governor's letter to the commandant; but he desired not to receive them, until the other commander from Lake Erie came, whom he had sent for, and expected next day by twelve o'clock.

Thursday 13.—The other General came. The Major delivered the letter, and desired a speedy answer; the time of year and business required it. They took our Indians into private council, and gave them several presents. . . .

Friday 21.—The ice was so hard we could not break our way through, but were obliged to haul our vessels across a point of land and put them in the creek again. The Indians and three French canoes overtook us here, and the people of one French canoe that was lost, with her cargo of powder

and lead. This night we encamped about twenty miles above Venango.

Saturday 22.—Set out. The creek began to be very low and we were forced to get out, to keep our canoe from over-setting, several times; the water freezing to our clothes; and we had the pleasure of seeing the French overset, and the brandy and wine floating in the creek, and run by them, and left them to shift for themselves. Came to Venango, and met with our people and horses.

Sunday 23.—We set out from Venango, travelled about five miles to Lacomick creek.

Monday 24.—Here Major Washington set out on foot in Indian dress. Our horses grew weak, that we were mostly obliged to travel on foot, and had snow all day. Encamped near the barrens.

Tuesday 25.—Set out and travelled on foot to branches of Great Beaver creek.

Wednesday 26.—The Major desired me to set out on foot, and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen, and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, I set out with our packs, like Indians, and travelled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the Major was much fatigued. It was very cold; all the small runs were frozen, that we could hardly get water to drink.

Thursday 27.—We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to the Murthering town, on the southeast fork of Beaver Creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there, etc. Major Washington insisted on travelling on the nearest way to forks of Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with

The return
expedition

Hardship

us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We travelled very brisk for eight or ten miles, when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much north-eastwardly. The Major desired to encamp, to which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out; but to go to his cabin, and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further; then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow; it was very light, and snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, turned about; the Major saw him point his gun towards us and fire. Said the Major, "Are you shot?" "No," said I. Upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the Major would not suffer me to kill him. We let him charge his gun; we found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. The Major or I always stood by the guns; we made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, "As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night." Upon which I said to the Indian, "I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun." He said, he knew the way to his cabin, and 'twas but a little way. "Well," said I, "do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning." He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was

fairly out of the way, and then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course, and travelled all night, and in the morning we were on the head of Piney Creek. . . .

Saturday 29.—We set out early, got to Alleghany, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island, a little above Shannopin's town. The Major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers frost-bitten, and the sun down, and very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore; but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice. . . .

Wednesday 2.—Set out and crossed Youghiogany on the ice. Got to my house in the new settlement. . . .

Friday 4.—Set out for Will's Creek, where we arrived on Sunday January 6.

CHAPTER IX

THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

25. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1732

(William Smith, *The History of the Province of New York from the First Discovery to the Year MDCCXXXII*, 188, 217 *passim*. London, 1757.)

The city of New York, as I have elsewhere had occasion to mention, "consists of about two thousand five hundred buildings. It is a mile in length, and not above half that in breadth." . . . The streets are irregular, but being paved with round pebbles are clean, and lined with well built brick houses, many of which are covered with tiled roofs.

No part of America is supplied with markets abounding with greater plenty and variety. We have beef, pork, mutton, poultry, butter, wild fowl, venison, fish, roots, and herbs, of all kinds, in their seasons. Our oysters are a considerable article in the support of the poor. Their beds are within view of the town; a fleet of two hundred small craft, are often seen there, at a time, when the weather is mild in winter; and this single article is computed to be worth annually 10 or 12,000 £. . . .

The inhabitants of New York are a mixed people, but mostly descended from the original Dutch planters. There are still two churches, in which religious worship is performed in that language. The old building is of stone and ill built, ornamented within by a small organ loft and brass branches. The new church is a high, heavy, edifice, with a

very extensive area, and was completed in 1729. It has no galleries, and yet will perhaps contain a thousand or twelve hundred auditors. The steeple of this church affords a most beautiful prospect, both of the City beneath and the surrounding country. . . .

There are, besides the Dutch, two Episcopal churches in this city, upon the plan of the established church in South Britain. Trinity church was built in 1696, and afterwards enlarged in 1737. It stands very pleasantly upon the banks of Hudson's river, and has a large cemetery, on each side, inclosed in the front by a painted palcd fence. Before it a long walk is railed off from the Broad-way, the pleasantest street of any in the whole town. This building is about 148 feet long, including the tower and chancel, and 72 feet in breadth. . . .

The church is, within, ornamented beyond any place of public worship amongst us. The head of the chancel is adorned with an Altar-piece, and opposite to it, at the other end of the building, is the organ. The tops of the pillars, which support the galleries, are decked with the gilt busts of angels winged. From the ceiling are suspended two glass branches, and on the walls hang the arms of some of its principal benefactors. The allies are paved with flat stones.

The present rector of this church is the Rev. Mr. Henry Barclay, formerly a missionary among the Mohawks, who receives 100 £ a year, levied upon all the other clergy and laity in the city, by virtue of an act of Assembly procured by Governor Fletcher. He is assisted by Dr. Johnson and Mr. Auchmuty.

This congregation, partly by the arrival of strangers from Europe, but principally by proselytes from the Dutch churches, is become so numerous, that though the old building will contain 2,000 hearers, yet a new one was erected in 1752. This, called St. George's Chapel, is a very neat edifice, faced with hewn stone and tiled. The steeple is lofty, but irregular; and its situation in a new, crowded, and ill-built, part of the town . . .

The revenue of this church is restricted, by an Act of Assembly, to 500 £ per annum; but it is possessed of a real Estate, at the north end of the town, which having been lately divided into lots and let to farm, will, in a few years, produce a much greater income.

The Presbyterians, increasing after Lord Cornbury's return to England, called Mr. Anderson, a Scotch minister, to the pastoral charge of their congregation; and Dr. John Nicol, Patrick Mac Night, Gilbert Livingston and Thomas Smith, purchased a piece of ground and founded a church, in 1719. Two years afterwards they petitioned Colonel Schuyler, who had then the chief command, for a charter of incorporation, to secure their estate for religious worship, upon the plan of the church in North-Britain; but were disappointed in their expectations, through the opposition of the episcopal party. . . .

The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the disuse of the language, is now reduced to an inconsiderable handful. . . .

The German Lutheran churches are two. Both their places of worship are small: one of them has a cupola and bell.

The Quakers have a Meeting-house, and the Moravians, a new sect among us, a church, consisting of female proselytes from other societies. Their service is in the English tongue.

The Anabaptists assemble at a small Meeting-house, but have as yet no regular settled congregation. The Jews, who are not inconsiderable for their numbers, worship in a synagogue erected in a very private part of the town, plain without, but very neat within.

City Hall.

The City Hall is a strong brick building, two stories in height, in the shape of an oblong, winged with one at each end, at right angles with the first. The floor below is an open walk, except two jails and the jailor's apartments. The cellar underneath is a dungeon, and the garret above a common prison. This edifice is erected in a place where four streets meet, and fronts, to the southwest, one of the most

spacious streets in town. The eastern wing, in the second story, consists of the Assembly chamber, a lobby, and a small room for the Speaker of the House. The west wing, on the same floor, forms the Council room and a library; and in the space between the ends, the Supreme Court is ordinarily held.

The library consists of a 1000 volumes, which were bequeathed to "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," by Dr. Millington, rector of Newington. . . .

In 1754, a set of gentlemen undertook to carry about a subscription towards raising a public library, and in a few days collected near 600 £ which were laid out in purchasing, about 700 volumes of new, well-chosen books. Every subscriber, upon payment of 5 £ principal, and the annual sum of 10 s. is entitled to the use of these books. His right by the articles is assignable, and for non-compliance with them may be forfeited. The care of this library is committed to twelve Trustees, annually elected by the subscribers, on the last Tuesday of April, who are restricted from making any rules repugnant to the fundamental subscription. . . .

Public
library.

The singular conveniency of Hudson's river to this province in particular, was so fully shown in one of the late papers, published in 1753, under the title of the Independent Reflector, that I cannot help reprinting the passage relating to it.

"The province of Pennsylvania, has a fine soil, and through the importance of Germans, abounds with inhabitants; but being a vast inland country, its produce must, of consequence, be brought to a market over a great extent of ground, and all by land carriage. Hence it is, that Philadelphia is crowded with wagons, carts, horses, and their drivers; a stranger, at his first entrance, would imagine it to be a place of traffic, beyond any one town in the colonies; while at New-York, in particular, to which the produce of the country is all brought by water, there is more business, at least, business of profit, though with less show and appearance. Not a boat in our river is navigated with more than two or three men at most; and these are perpetually coming in from, and returning to,

Com-
mercial
advantage
of New
York.

all parts of the adjacent country, in the same employments, that fill the city of Philadelphia with some hundreds of men, who, in respect to the public advantage may justly be said, to be laboriously idle: for, let any one nicely compute the expense of a wagon, with its tackling; the time of two men in attending it; their maintenance; four horses and the charge of their provender, on a journey of one, though they often come, two hundred miles; and he will find, these several particulars amount to a sum far from being inconsiderable. All this time the New York farmer is in the course of his proper business, and the unincumbered acquisitions of his calling; for, at a medium, there is scarce a farmer in the province, that cannot transport the fruits of a year's labor, from the best farm, in three days, at a proper season, to some convenient landing, where the market will be to his satisfaction, and all the wants from the merchant, cheaply supplied: besides which, one boat shall steal into the harbor of New York, with a lading of more burden and value, than forty wagons, one hundred and fifty horses, and eighty men, into Philadelphia; and perhaps with less noise, bluster, or show than one. . . ."

English
governors.

The bigotry and tyranny of some of our governors, together with the great extent of their grants, may also be considered among the discouragements against the full settlement of the province. Most of these gentlemen coming over with no other view than to raise their own fortunes, issued extravagant patents, charged with small quit rents, to such as were able to serve them in the Assembly, and these patentees being generally men of estates, have rated their lands so exorbitantly high, that very few poor persons could either purchase or lease them. Add to all these, that the New England planters have always been disaffected to the Dutch, nor was there, after the surrender, any foreign accession from the Netherlands. The province being thus poorly inhabited, the price of labour became so enormously enhanced, that we have been constrained to import negroes from Africa, who are employed in all kinds of servitudes and trades.

English is the most prevailing language amongst us, but not a little corrupted by the Dutch dialect, which is still so much used in some counties, that the sheriffs find it difficult to obtain persons sufficiently acquainted with the English tongue, to serve as jurors in the Courts of Law.

Language
and man-
ners of
people.

The manners of the people differ as well as their language. In Suffolk and Queen's County, the first settlers of which were either natives of England, or the immediate descendants of such as begun the plantations in the eastern Colonies, their customs are similar to those prevailing in the English counties, from which they originally sprang. In the city of New-York, through our intercourse with the Europeans, we follow the London fashions; though by the time we adopt them, they become disused in England. Our affluence, during the late war, introduced a degree of luxury in tables, dress, and furniture, with which we were before unacquainted. But still we are not so gay a people, as our neighbors in Boston and several of the southern colonies. The Dutch counties, in some measures, follow the example of New York, but still retain many modes peculiar to the Hollanders.

The city of New York consists principally of merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, who sustain the reputation of honest, punctual, and fair, dealers. With respect to riches, there is not so great an inequality amongst us, as is common in Boston and some other places. Every man of industry and integrity has it in his power to live well, and many are the instances of persons, who came here distressed by their poverty who now enjoy ease and plentiful fortunes.

New York is one of the most social places on the continent. The men collect themselves into weekly Evening Clubs. The ladies, in winter, are frequently entertained either at concerts of music or assemblies, and make a very good appearance. They are comely and dress well, and scarce any of them have distorted shapes. Tinctured with a Dutch education, they manage their families with becoming parsimony, good providence, and singular neatness. The practise of extravagant gaming, common to the fashionable part of the

Social
conditions

fair sex, in some places, is a vice with which my countrywomen cannot justly be charged. There is nothing they so generally neglect as reading, and indeed all the arts for the improvement of the mind, in which, I confess, we have set them the example. They are modest, temperate, and charitable; naturally sprightly, sensible, and good-humoured; and by the helps of a more elevated education, would possess all the accomplishments desirable in the sex. Our schools are in the lowest order; the instructors want instruction, and through a long shameful neglect of all the Arts and Sciences, our common speech is extremely corrupt, and the evidences of a bad taste, both as to thought and language, are visible in all our proceedings, public and private.

The people, both in town and country, are sober, industrious, and hospitable, though intent upon gain. The richer sort keep very plentiful tables, abounding with great varieties of flesh, fish, fowl, and all kinds of vegetables. The common drinks are beer, cider, weak punch, and Madeira wine. For dessert, we have fruits in vast plenty, of different kinds and various species. . . .

The inhabitants of this colony are in general healthy and robust, taller but shorter lived than Europeans, and, both with respect to their minds and bodies, arrive sooner to an age of maturity. Breathing a serene, dry air, they are more sprightly in their natural tempers than the people of England, and hence instances of suicide are here very uncommon. The history of our diseases belongs to a profession with which I am very little acquainted. Few physicians amongst us are eminent for their skill. Quacks abound like locusts in Egypt, and too many have recommended themselves to a full practice and profitable subsistence. This is the less to be wondered at, as the profession is under no kind of regulation. Loud as the call is, to our shame be it remembered, we have no law to protect the lives of the King's subjects, from the malpractice of pretenders. Any man at his pleasure sets up for physician, apothecary, and chirurgeon. No candidates are either examined or licensed, or even sworn to fair practice. . . .

Our merchants are compared to a hive of bees, who industriously gather honey for others—"Non vobis mellificatis Apes." The profits of our trade centre chiefly in Great Britain, and for that reason, methinks, among others, we ought always to receive the generous aid and protection of our Mother Country. In our traffic with other places, the balance is almost constantly in our favour. Our exports to the West-Indies are bread, peas, rye-meal, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, staves, horses, sheep, butter, cheese, pickled oysters, beef, and pork. Flour is also a main article, of which there is shipped about 80,000 barrels per annum. To preserve the credit of this important branch of our staple, we have a good law, appointing officers to inspect and brand every cask before its exportation. The returns are chiefly rum, sugar, and molasses, except cash from Curacoa, and when mules from the Spanish Main, are ordered to Jamaica, and the Windward Islands, which are generally exchanged for their natural produce, for we receive but little cash from our own islands. The balance against them would be much more in our favour, if the indulgence to our sugar colonies, did not enable them to sell their produce at a higher rate than either the Dutch or French islands.

Activity of
traders.

The Spaniards commonly contract for provisions, with merchants in this and the colony of Pennsylvania, very much to the advantage both of the contractors and the public, because the returns are wholly in cash. Our wheat, flour, Indian corn, and lumber shipped to Lisbon and Madeira, balance the Madeira wine imported here.

The Logwood trade to the Bay of Honduras is very considerable, and was pushed by our merchants with great boldness in the most dangerous times. The exportation of flax seed to Ireland is of late very much increased. Between the 9th of December 1755, and the 23d of February following, we shipped off 12,528 hogsheads. In return for this article, linens are imported and bills of exchange drawn, in favour of England, to pay for the dry goods we purchase there. Our logwood is remitted to the English merchants for the same purpose.

The fur trade, though very much impaired by the French wiles and encroachments, ought not to be passed over in silence. The building of Oswego has conduced, more than anything else, to the preservation of this trade. Peltry of all kinds is purchased with rum, ammunition, blankets, strouds, and wampum, or conque-shell bugles. The French fur trade at Albany, was carried on till the summer 1755, by the Caghnuaga proselytes; and in return for their peltry, they received Spanish pieces of eight, and some other articles which the French want to complete their assortment of Indian goods. For the savages prefer the English strouds to theirs, and the French found it their interest to purchase them of us, and transport them to the western Indians on the Lakes Erie, Huron, and at the strait of Michilimakinac.

Trade
with
England.

Our importation of dry goods from England is so vastly great, that we are obliged to betake ourselves to all possible arts, to make remittances to the British merchants. It is for this purpose we import cotton from St. Thomas's and Surinam, lime-juice and Nicaragua wood from Curacoa; and logwood from the Bay, etc. and yet it drains us of all the silver and gold we can collect. It is computed, that the annual amount of the goods purchased by this colony in Great Britain, is in value not less than 100,000 £ sterling; and the sum would be much greater if a stop was put to all clandestine trade. England is, doubtless, entitled to all our superfluities; because our general interests are closely connected, and her navy is our principal defence. On this account, the trade with Hamburg and Holland for duck, chequered linen, oznalrigs, cordage, and tea, is certainly, upon the whole, impolitic and unreasonable; how muchsoever it may conduce to advance the interest of a few merchants, or this particular colony.

Contra-
band
trade.

By what measures this contraband trade may be effectually obstructed is hard to determine, though it well deserves the attention of a British Parliament. Increasing the number of custom-house officers, will be a remedy worse than the disease. Their salaries would be an additional charge upon

the public; for if we argue from their conduct, we ought not to presume upon their fidelity. The exclusive right of the East-India Company to import tea, while the colonies purchase it of foreigners 30 per cent cheaper, must be very prejudicial to the Nation. Our people, both in town and country, are shamefully gone into the habit of tea-drinking; and it is supposed we consume of this commodity in value near 10,000 £ sterling per annum. . . .

The money used in this province is silver, gold, British halfpence, and bills of credit. To counterfeit either of them is felony without benefit of clergy; but none except the latter, and Lyon dollars are a legal tender. Twelve halfpence, till lately, passed for a shilling; which being much beyond their value in any of the neighboring colonies, the Assembly, in 1753, resolved to proceed, at their next meeting, after the 1st of May ensuing, to the consideration of a method for ascertaining their value. A set of gentlemen, in number seventy-two, took the advantage of the discredit that resolve put upon copper halfpence, and on the 22nd of December, subscribed a paper, engaging not to receive or pass them, except at the rate of fourteen coppers to a shilling. This gave rise to a mob, for a few days, among the lower class of people, but some of them being imprisoned, the scheme was carried into execution; and established in every part of the province, without the aid of a law. Our paper bills, which are issued to serve the exigencies of the government, were at first equal to an ounce of silver, then valued at eight shillings. Before the late Spanish War, silver and gold were in great demand to make remittances for European goods, and then the bills sunk, an ounce of silver being worth nine shillings and three pence. During the war, the credit of our bills was well supported, partly by the number of prizes taken by our privateers, and the high price of our produce abroad; and partly by the logwood trade and the depreciation of the New-England paper money, which gave ours a free circulation through the Eastern colonies. Since the war, silver has been valued at about nine shillings and two pence an ounce, and

Kinds of
money.

is doubtless fixed there, till our imports exceed what we export. To assist his Majesty for removing the late encroachments of the French, we have issued 80,000 £ to be sunk in short periods, by a tax on estates real and personal; and the whole amount of our paper currency is thought to be about 160,000 £. . . .

Governors
vs.
Assembly.

No colony, upon the Continent, has formerly suffered more than ours, in the opinion of the King's ministers. This has been owing to the ill impressions made by our governors, who are scarce ever disengaged from disputes with the Lower House. Our representatives, agreeable to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in their opinion, that the inhabitants of this colony are entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen; that they have a right to participate in the legislative power, and that the session of Assemblies here, is wisely substituted instead of a representation in Parliament, which, all things considered, would, at this remote distance, be extremely inconvenient and dangerous. The governors, on the other hand, in general, entertain political sentiments of a quite different nature. All the immunities we enjoy, according to them, not only flow from, but absolutely depend upon, the mere grace and will of the Crown. It is easy to conceive, that contentions must naturally attend such a contradiction of sentiments. Most of our disputes however relate to the support of government. . . .

26. PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK, 1748

(Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*. Translated by John Reinhold Forster. I, 31-35 *passim*.)

Phila-
delphia.

Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, a province which makes part of what formerly was called New Sweden is one of the principal towns in North-America; and next to Boston the greatest. . . .

The streets are regular, fine and most of them are fifty foot, English measure, broad; Arch-street measures sixty six

feet in breadth, and market street or the principal street where the market is kept, nearly a hundred. . . . All the streets except two which are nearest to the river, run in a straight line, and make right angles at the intersections. Some are paved, others are not; and it seems less necessary since the ground is sandy, and therefore soon absorbs the wet. But in most of the streets is a pavement of flags, a fathom or more broad, laid before the houses, and posts put on the outside three or four fathom asunder. Under the roofs are gutters which are carefully connected with pipes, and by this means those who walk under them, when it rains or when the snow melts, need not fear being wetted by the dropping from the roofs.

The houses make a good appearance, are frequently several stories high, and built either of bricks or of stone; but the former are more commonly used, since bricks are made before the town, and are well burnt. . . .

On one side of this building [Town Hall] stands the *Library*, which was first begun in the year 1742, on a publick spirited plan, formed and put in execution by the learned Mr. Franklin. For he persuaded first the most substantial people in town to pay forty shillings at the outset, and afterwards ten shillings annually, all in Pensylvania currency, towards purchasing all kinds of useful books. The subscribers are entitled to make use of the books. Other people are likewise at liberty to borrow them for a certain time, but must leave a pledge and pay eight-pence a week for a folio volume, six-pence for a quarto, and four-pence for all others of a smaller size. As soon as the time allowed a person for the perusal of the volume is elapsed, it must be returned or he is fined. The money arising in this manner is employed for the salary of the librarian and for purchasing new books. There was already a fine collection of excellent works, most of them English; many French and Latin, but few in any other language. The subscribers were so kind to me, as to order the librarian, during my stay here, to lend me every book, which I should want without requiring any payment from me. The

Public
library.

library was open every Saturday from four to eight-o'clock in the afternoon. Besides the books, several mathematical physical curiosities were to be seen in it. Several little libraries were founded in the town on the same footing or nearly with this. . . .

Markets.

The town has two great fairs every year; one in May, and the other in November, both on the sixteenth day of those two months. But besides these fairs, there are every week two market days, viz. Wednesday and Saturday. On those days the country people in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, bring to town a quantity of victuals, and other productions of the country, and this is a great advantage to the town. It is therefore to be wished that the like regulation might be made in our Swedish towns. You are sure to meet with every produce of the season, which the country affords, on the market days. But on other days, they are in vain sought for.

Provisions are always to be got fresh here, and for that reason most of the inhabitants never buy more at a time, than what will be sufficient till the next market-day. In summer there is a market almost every day; for the victuals do not keep well in the great heat. There are two places in the town where these markets are kept; but that near the Court-house is the principal. It begins about four or five o'clock in the morning, and ends about nine o'clock in the forenoon. . . .

German immigration.

In the summer of the year 1749, near twelve thousand Germans came over to Philadelphia, many of whom staid in that town. In the same year the houses in Philadelphia were counted, and found to be two thousand and seventy-six in number.

Numerous nationalities.

The town is now quite filled with inhabitants, which in regard to their country, religion and trade, are very different from each other. You meet with excellent masters in all trades, and many things are made here full as well as in England. Yet no manufactures, especially for making fine cloth are established.

Perhaps the reason is, that it can be got with so little diffi-

culty from England, and that the breed of sheep which is brought over, degenerates in process of time, and affords but a coarse wool. . . .

It has not been necessary to force people to come and settle here; on the contrary, foreigners of different languages, have left their country, houses, property and relations, and ventured over wide and stormy seas, in order to come hither. Other countries which have been peopled for a long space of time, complain of the small number of their inhabitants. But Pennsylvania which was no better than a desert in the year 1681, and hardly contained five hundred people, now vies with several Kingdoms in Europe, in number of inhabitants. It has received numbers of people which other countries to their infinite loss, have either neglected or expelled.

New York probably carries on a more extensive commerce, than any town in the English North American provinces; at least it may be said to equal them; Boston and Philadelphia however come very nearly up to it. The trade of New York extends to many places, and it is said they send more ships from thence to London, than they do from Philadelphia. They export to that Capital all the various sorts of skins which they buy of the Indians, sugar, logwood, and other dying woods, rum, mahogany, and many other goods, which are the produce of the West Indies; together with all the specie which they get in the course of trade. Every year here they build several ships, which are sent to London, and there sold; and of late years they have shipped a quantity of iron to England. In return for these, they import from London stuff and every other article of English growth or manufacture, together with all sorts of foreign goods. England, and especially London, profits immensely by its trade with the American colonies; for not only New York, but likewise all the other English towns on the continent, import so many articles from England, that all their specie, together with the goods which they get in other countries, must altogether go to Old England, in order to pay the amount, to which they are however, insufficient. From hence it appears how much

New York
as a com-
mercial
centre.

a well regulated colony contributes to the increase and welfare of its Mother country. . . .

Irrigation.

November the 13th. I saw in several parts of this province a ready method of getting plenty of grass to grow in the meadows. Here must be remembered what I have before mentioned about the springs which are sometimes found on the sides of the hills, and sometimes in the vallies. The meadows lie commonly in the vallies between the hills; if they are too swampy and wet, the water is carried off by several ditches. But the summer in Pennsylvania is very hot; and the sun often burns the grass so much, that it dries up entirely.

The husbandmen therefore have been very attentive to prevent this in their meadows: to that purpose they look for all the springs in the neighborhood of a meadow; and as the rivulets flowed before by the shortest way into the vallies, they raise the water as much as possible and necessary, to the higher part of the meadow, and make several narrow channels from the brook, down into the plain, so that it is entirely watered by it. Where there are some deeper places, they frequently lay wooden gutters across them, through which the water flows to the other side; and from thence it is again by very narrow channels carried to all the places where it seems necessary. To raise the water the higher, and in order to spread it more, there are high dykes built near the springs, between which the water rises till it is so high as to run down where the people want it. Industry and ingenuity went further: when a brook runs in a wood, with a direction not towards the meadow, and it has been found by levelling, and taking an exact survey of the land between the meadow and the rivulet, that the latter can be conducted towards the former; a dyke is made, which hems the course of the brook, and the water is led round the meadow over many hills, sometimes for the space of an English mile and further, partly across vallies in wooden pipes, till at last it is brought where it is wanted, and where it can be spread as above-mentioned. One that has not seen it himself, cannot believe

how great a quantity of grass there is in such meadows, especially near the little channels; whilst others, which have not been thus managed look wretchedly. The meadows commonly lie in the vallies, and one or more of their sides have a declivity. The water can therefore easily be brought to run down in them. These meadows which are so carefully watered, are commonly mowed three times every summer. But it is likewise to be observed, that summer continues here seven months. The inhabitants seldom fail to employ a brook or spring, in this manner, if it is not too far from the meadows to be led to them. . . .

27. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, AND RHODE ISLAND, 1759

(Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759-60*. London, 1775, pp. 11-17, 20-23 *passim*.)

Viewed and considered as a settlement, Virginia is far from being arrived at that perfection of which it is capable. Not a tenth of the land is yet cultivated: and that which is cultivated, is far from being so in the most advantageous manner. It produces, however, considerable quantities of grain and cattle, and fruit of many kinds. The Virginia pork is said to be superior in flavour to any in the world; but the sheep and horned cattle being small and lean, the meat of them is inferior to that of Great Britain, or indeed, of most parts of Europe. The horses are fleet and beautiful; and the gentlemen of Virginia, who are exceedingly fond of horse-racing, having spared no expence or trouble to improve the breed of them by exporting great numbers from England. . . .

The trade of this colony is large and extensive. Tobacco is the principal article of it. Of this they export annually between fifty and sixty thousand hogsheads, each hogshead weighing eight hundred or a thousand weight: some years they export much more. They ship also for the Madeiras, the Streights, and the West Indies, several articles such as

Virginia
agricul-
ture.

Virginia
exports.

grain, pork, lumber, and cyder: to Great Britain, bar-iron, indigo, and a small quantity of ginseng, though of an inferior quality; and they clear out one year with another about 45,179 ton of shipping.

Virginia manufactures. Their manufactures are very inconsiderable. They make a kind of cotton-cloth, with which they clothe themselves in common, and call after the name of their country; and some inconsiderable quantities of linen, hose, and other trifling articles: but nothing to deserve attention. . . .

Religion in Virginia. The established religion is that of the church of England; and there are very few Dissenters of any denomination in this province. There are at present between sixty and seventy clergymen; men in general of sober and exemplary lives. They have each a glebe of two or three hundred acres of land, a house, and a salary established by law of 16,000 weight of tobacco, with an allowance of 1700 more for shrinkage. This is delivered to them in hogsheads ready packed for exportation, at the most convenient warehouse. . . .

Independent spirit of the Virginians. The public or political character of the Virginians, corresponds with their private one: they are haughty and jealous of their liberties, impatient of restraint, and can scarcely bear the thought of being controuled by any superior power. Many of them consider the colonies as independent states, not connected with Great Britain, otherwise than by having the same common king, or being bound to her by natural affection. There are but few of them that have a turn for business, and even those are by no means expert at it. . . . they think it a hardship not to have an unlimited trade to every part of the world. They consider the duties upon their staple as injurious only to themselves; and it is utterly impossible to persuade them that they affect the consumer also. However, to do them justice, the same spirit of generosity prevails here which does in their private character: they never refuse any necessary supplies for the support of government when called upon, and are a generous and loyal people.

. . . Or as to the Ohio, they have suffered themselves, notwithstanding the superior advantages they might enjoy

from having a water carriage almost to the Youghiogheny to neglect this valuable branch of commerce; while the industrious Pennsylvanians seize every opportunity, or struggle with innumerable difficulties, to secure it to themselves. The Virginians are content if they can but live from day to day; they confine themselves almost entirely to the cultivation of tobacco; and if they have but enough of this to pay their merchants in London, and to provide for their pleasures, they are satisfied, and desire nothing more. Some few, indeed, have been rather more enterprising and have endeavoured to improve their estates by raising indigo, and other schemes: but whether it has been owing to the climate, to their inexperience in these matters, or their want of perseverance, I am unable to determine, but their success has not answered their expectations. . . .

Contest
for the
control of
the Ohio.

The trade of Pennsylvania is surprisingly extensive, carried on to Great Britain, the West Indies, every part of North America, the Madeiras, Lisbon, Cadiz, Holland, Africa, the Spanish Main, and several other places; exclusive of what is illicitly carried on to Cape Francois, and Monte-Christo. Their exports are provisions of all kinds, lumber, hemp, flax, flax-seed, iron, furs, and deer-skins. Their imports, English manufactures, with the superfluities and luxuries of life. By their flag of truce-trade, they also get sugar, which they refine and send to Europe.

Pennsyl-
vania con-
merce.

Their manufactures are very considerable. The German-town thread-stockings are in high estimation; and the year before last, I have been creditably informed, there were manufactured in that town alone about 60,000 dozen pair. Their common retail price is a dollar per pair.

Manufac-
tures of
Pennsyl-
vania.

The Irish settlers make very good linens; some woollens have also been fabricated, but not I believe to any amount. There are several other manufactures, viz. of beaver hats, which are superior in goodness to any in Europe, of cordage, linseed oil, starch, myrtle-wax, and spermaceti candles, soap, earthen ware, and other commodities. . . .

The province of Rhode Island is divided into counties and

Local gov-
ernment
in Rhode
Island.

Com-
merce of
Rhode
Island.

townships; of the former there are four or five, but they are exceedingly small; of the latter between twenty and thirty; the towns themselves are inconsiderable villages: however they send members to the assembly, in the whole about seventy. The number of inhabitants, with negroes, and Indians, of which in this province there are several hundreds, amounts to 35,000. As the province affords but few commodities for exportation; horses, provisions, and an inconsiderable quantity of grain, with spermaceti candles, being the chief articles; they are obliged to Connecticut and the neighbouring colonies, for most of their traffic; and by their means they carry on an extensive trade. Their mode of commerce is this; they trade to Great Britain, Holland, Africa, the West Indies, and the neighboring colonies; from each of which places they import the following articles; from Great Britain, dry goods; from Holland, money; from Africa, slaves; from the West Indies, sugars, coffee, and molasses; and from the neighbouring colonies, lumber and provisions: and with what they purchase in one place they make their returns in another. Thus with the money they get in Holland, they pay their merchants in London; the sugars they procure in the West Indies, they carry to Holland; the slaves they fetch from Africa they send to the West Indies, together with lumber and provisions, which they get from the neighbouring colonies: the rum that they distil they export to Africa; and with the dry goods, which they purchase in London, they traffick in the neighbouring colonies. By this kind of circular commerce they subsist and grow rich.

Colonial
jealousy.

. . . For fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation, which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity, in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts-Bay and Rhode Island, are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony, are a constant

source of litigation.—In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would even be a civil war, from one end of the colony to the other; while the Indians and negroes would, with better reason, impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them all together.

CHAPTER X

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

28. EFFECT OF BRITISH COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS, 1765

John Dickinson was one of the conservative leaders during the early days of the Revolution. In the following selection, which appeared in the form of a "letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, to his friend in London," he portrays the effects of British commercial regulations on American development.—(John Dickinson, *Political Writings*, I, 47-90. The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America. Philadelphia, 1765.)

The colo-
nists not
engaged in
manufac-
turing.

The American continental colonies are inhabited by persons of small fortunes, who are so closely employed in subduing a wild country, for their subsistence, and who would labor under such difficulties in contending with old and populous countries, which must exceed them in workmanship and cheapness, that they have not time nor any temptation to apply themselves to manufactures.

America a
market for
British
manufac-
tures.

Hence arises the importance of the colonies to Great-Britain. Her prosperity depends on her commerce; her commerce on her manufactures; her manufactures on the markets for them; and the most constant and advantageous markets are afforded by the colonies, as in all others the rest of Europe interferes with her, and various accidents may interrupt them. The benefit from hence is at present immense; but in future times when America shall be more fully peopled, must exceed with prudent management the warmest wishes of a British patriot.

American
produc-
tions.

Our chief productions are provisions, naval stores, furs, iron and lumber. A few colonies yield tobacco and indigo.

Some of these commodities are necessary to Great Britain; but all that she requires are vastly insufficient to pay for her manufactures which we want. The productions of some of the southern colonies may perhaps be equal to their demands, but the case is widely different with the northern; for in these, the importations from Great Britain are computed to be generally more than double the value of their immediate exportations to that kingdom.

The only expedient left us for making our remittances, is to carry on some other trade, whereby we can obtain silver and gold, which our own country does not afford. Hence it is evident, that if our taking off and paying for her manufactures to Great Britain, the channels by which we acquire money for that purpose, ought to be industriously kept open and uninterrupted.

Colonial
trade with
other
nations

Our trade with Spain, Portugal and the foreign plantations in the West Indies have chiefly answered this end; though with much difficulty, the mother country having long since drawn the commercial cords with which the colonies are bound, extremely tight upon them. Everything produced here, that Great Britain chooses to take to herself, must be carried to that kingdom only—everything we choose to import from Europe must be shipped in Great Britain—heavy duties have been laid on our importations from the foreign plantations.

British re-
strictions
on trade.

However, under all these restraints and some others that have been imposed on us, we have not till lately been unhappy. Our spirits were not depressed:—we apprehended no design formed against our liberty. We for a long time enjoyed peace, and were quite free from any heavy debt, either internal or external. We had a paper currency which served as a medium of domestic commerce, and permitted us to employ all the gold and silver we could acquire, in trade abroad. We had a multitude of markets for our provisions, lumber and iron.—These allowed liberties, with some others we assumed, enabled us to collect considerable sums of money for the joint benefit of ourselves and our mother country.

But the modern regulations are in every circumstance afflicting. The remittances we have been able to make to Great Britain, with all the license hitherto granted or taken, and all the money brought among us in the course of the late war, have not been sufficient to pay her what we owe; but there still remains due, according to a late calculation made by the English merchants, the sum of four millions sterling. Besides this, we are and have been for many years heavily taxed, for the payment of the debts contracted by our efforts against the common enemy. These seem to be difficulties severe enough for young colonies to contend with. The last sinks our paper currency very fast.—The former sweeps off our silver and gold in a torrent to Great Britain, and leaves us continually toiling to supply from a number of distant springs the continually wasting stream.

Thus drained, we are prohibited by new and stricter restraints being laid on our trade, from procuring these coins as we used to do: and from instituting among ourselves bills of credit in the place of such portions of them as are required in our internal traffic; and in this exhausted condition, our languishing country is to strive to take up and to totter under the additional burthen of the Stamp Act. . . .

The restriction also with regard to our iron, is thought particularly severe. Whenever we can get a better price in Great Britain, than elsewhere, it is unnecessary; whenever we can get a better price in other places, it is prejudicial. Cargoes composed of this metal, provisions and lumber, have been found to answer very well at the Portugese and some other markets; and as the last articles are frequently very low, and our foreign trade is reduced to so few commodities, the taking away any one of them must be hurtful to us. Indeed, to require us to send all our iron to Great Britain, is, in the opinion of some of our judicious merchants, to require an impossibility; for as this article is so heavy, and such small quantities can be sent in one vessel, they assert, that we cannot find freight directly home for one half of it.

But it is unnecessary to endeavour to prove by reasoning

Trade in
iron with
Great
Britain
alone.

on these things, that we shall suffer, for we already suffer. Trade is decaying; and all credit is expiring. Money is become so extremely scarce, that reputable freeholders find it impossible to pay debts which are trifling in comparison to their estates. If creditors sue, and take out executions, the lands and personal estate, as the sale must be for ready money, are sold for a small part of what they were worth when the debts were contracted. The debtors are ruined. The creditors get but part of their debts, and that ruins them. Thus the consumers break the shopkeepers; they break the merchants; and the shock must be felt as far as London. Fortunate, indeed, is the man who can get satisfaction in money for any part of his debt, in some counties; for in many instances, after lands and goods have been repeatedly advertised in the public gazettes, or exposed to sale, not a buyer appears.

Decline of
colonial
trade.

By these means multitudes are ruined, and the estates of others are melting away in the same manner. It must strike anyone with great surprise and concern, to hear of the number of debtors discharged every court by our insolvent act. If it be considered, that this law extends only to those who do not owe any single debt above £150, that many are daily released by the lenity of their creditors, and that many more remove, without their knowledge, it will not be difficult to form a judgment of the condition to which the people are reduced.

Increase of
debtors.

If these effects are produced already, what can we expect when the same causes shall have operated longer? What can we expect when the exhausted colonies shall feel the Stamp Act drawing off, as it were, the last drops of their blood? From whence is the silver to come with which the taxes imposed by this act, and the duties imposed by other late acts, are to be paid? Or how will our merchants and the lower ranks of people, on whom the force of these regulations will fall first, and with the greatest violence, bear this additional load? . . .

Effect of
the Stamp
Act.

Yet still their resentment is but the resentment of dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved

parent. Their obedience to Great-Britain is secured by the best and strongest ties, those of affection; which alone can, and I hope will form an everlasting union between her and her colonies. May no successes or suspicions ever tempt her to deviate from the natural generosity of her spirit—and may no dreadful revolution of sentiments ever teach them to fear her victories, or to repine at her glories.

I am

C. C.

29. PARLIAMENTARY PETITIONS AGAINST THE STAMP ACT, JANUARY 17, 1766

Notwithstanding the Stamp Act passed the House of Commons with the vote of 205 to 49 and the House of Lords without “debate, division, or protest,” opposition developed among the people of England which together with the protests from America led to its repeal.—(T. C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England*, XVI, 133–136; 1765–71.)

Exports to
America
by London
merchants.

A Petition of the merchants of London, trading to North America, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth: “That the petitioners have been long concerned in carrying on the trade between this country and the British colonies on the continent of North America; and that they have annually exported very large quantities of British manufactures, consisting of woollen goods of all kinds, cottons, linens, hardware, shoes, household furniture, and almost without exception of every other species of goods manufactured in these kingdoms, besides other articles imported from abroad, chiefly purchased with our manufactures and with the produce of our colonies; by all which, many thousand manufacturers, seamen and labourers, have been employed, to the very great and increasing benefit of this nation; and that, in return for these exports, the petitioners have received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval stores, oil, whale fins, furs, and lately pot-ash, with other commodities, besides remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the colonists in payment for articles of their produce, not

Imports
from the
American
colonies.

required for the British market, and therefore exported to other places; and that from the nature of this trade, consisting of British manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them used in our manufactures, and all of them tending to lessen our dependence on neighbouring states, it must be deemed of the highest importance in the commercial system of this nation; and that this commerce, so beneficial to the state, and so necessary for the support of multitudes, now lies under such difficulties and discouragements, that nothing less than its utter ruin is apprehended, without the immediate interposition of parliament; and that, in consequence of the trade between the colonies and the mother country, as established and as permitted for many years, and of the experience which the petitioners have had of the readiness of the Americans to make their just remittances to the utmost of their real ability, they have been induced to make and venture such large exportations of British manufactures, as to leave the colonies indebted to the merchants of Great Britain in the sum of several millions sterling; and that at this time the colonists, when pressed for payment, appeal to past experience in proof of their willingness; but declare it is not in their power, at present, to make good their engagements, alledging, that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them, and the extension of the jurisdiction of vice admiralty courts established by some late acts of parliament, particularly by an act passed in the fourth year of his present majesty, for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, and by an act passed in the fifth year of his present majesty, for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British Colonies and plantations in America, with several regulations and restraints, which, if founded in acts of parliament for defined purposes, are represented to have been extended in such a manner as to disturb legal commerce and harass the fair trader, have so far interrupted the usual and former most fruitful branches of their commerce, restrained the sale of their produce, thrown the state of the several prov-

Favorable
balance of
trade for
Great
Britain.

Disturb-
ance of
trade due
to Stamp
Act.

Effect on
British
manufac-
tures.

inces into confusion, and brought on so great a number of actual bankruptcies, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments are utterly lost and taken from them; and that the petitioners are, by these unhappy events, reduced to the necessity of applying to the House, in order to secure themselves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the community, or else seeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loss of this kingdom; and to preserve the strength of this nation entire, its commerce flourishing, the revenues increasing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a state of growth and extension, and the colonies, from inclination, duty, and interest, firmly attached to the mother country; and therefore praying the consideration of the premises, and entreating such relief, as to the House shall seem expedient.

Other
petitions.

The petition was referred to the Committee of the whole House, as were also the following petitions, viz. of the master, wardens, and commonalty of the society of merchants venturers of the city of Bristol, under their common seal; of the merchants, tradesmen and manufacturers of the same city; of the merchants of Liverpool, trading to and from America and the coast of Africa; of the merchants, tradesmen and manufacturers of the town and parish of Halifax; of the merchants and inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, trading to the several colonies of North America, and of the manufacturers of broad woollen cloth, and sundry other assortments of woollen goods, manufactured for supplying the North America markets; of the merchants of Lancaster trading to and from North America; of the merchants, manufacturers, and traders of the town of Manchester, and neighborhood thereof, of the manufacturers of the town and county of Leicester; and of the clothiers and manufacturers of superfine broad cloth, in the town of Bradford in Wiltshire; all complaining of a great decay in the trade to the North American colonies, owing to the late obstructions and embarrassments laid thereon, and praying relief.

And afterwards there were presented to the House and read, and referred to the same Committee, the following petitions, viz. of the principal inhabitants of the town of Frome; of the merchants, factors, and manufacturers of Birmingham; of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, of the city of Coventry, and the principal tradesmen and manufacturers of silk ribbands and worsted goods, in and near the said city, whose common seal and names are thereunto respectively affixed, in behalf of themselves and others concerned in the same manufactures . . . all containing much the same complaint as in the former petitions, and concluding with the same prayer.

30. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT

While the repeal of the Stamp Act was under discussion in Parliament, Benjamin Franklin, with others, was ordered to appear before the House of Commons and testify upon the general attitude of America toward the act. Franklin was at the time the representative of Pennsylvania and some of the other colonies. The questions answered by Franklin were submitted by friends of the colonies, members of the special committee, and were intended to draw out what Franklin had already expressed on the subject. The examination was concluded on February 13, 1766, and eleven days later the resolution was offered that the Stamp Act should be repealed.—(T. C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England*, XVI, 138–160, 1765–71, London, 1813.)

Q. What is your name and place of abode?

A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

A. Certainly, many and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?

A. There are taxes on all estates, real and personal, a poll-tax, a tax on all offices, professions, trades and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and

System of
taxation.

other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported, with some other duties.

Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?

Purpose of taxes.

A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

Q. From the thinness of the back settlements, would not the Stamp Act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

A. To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them without taking long journeys, and spending perhaps three or four pounds, that the crown might get sixpence.

Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty?

A. In my opinion there is not gold and silver enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies, where the soldiers are, not in the colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back. I think it would come from the colonies where it was spent directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every colony the more plenty the means of remittance to England, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with England carried on.

Q. How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

A. About 300,000, from 16 to 60 years of age.

Colonists unable to pay stamp duties.

Population of colonies.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spanish trade?

A. Yes, I have heard, that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations, and by the English men of war and cutters stationed all along the coast of America.

Q. Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expence?

A. That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed and payed, during the last war, near 25,000 men, and spent many millions. Americans pay for defence.

Q. Were you not reimbursed by parliament?

A. We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about 500,000 £, and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000 £.

Q. You have said that you pay heavy taxes in Pennsylvania; what do they amount to in the pound?

A. The tax on all estates, real and personal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, with other taxes, do, I suppose, make full half a crown in the pound.

Q. Do you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it were moderated?

A. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?

A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink and paper. They were lead by a thread. Conditions before 1763.

They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with a particular regard; to be an Old-England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Condi-
tions, 1775.

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what light did the people of America use to consider the parliament of Great-Britain?

Attitude
of colo-
nists
toward
Parlia-
ment

A. They considered the parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary ministers, they thought, might, possibly, at times, attempt to oppress them; but they relied on it, that the parliament, on application, would always give redress; They remembered, with gratitude, a strong instance of this, when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clause, to make royal instructions laws in the colonies, which the House of Commons would not pass, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not still the same respect for parliament?

A. No it is greatly lessened.

Q. To what causes is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of causes; the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into the colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper money among themselves; and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps; taking away, at the same time, trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would submit to the stamp-act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars of small amount?

Attitude toward a modified Stamp Act.

A. No; they will never submit to it.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there no power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be sure.

Q. What used to be the pride of Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old cloaths over again, till they can make new ones.—Withdrew.

31. DESCRIPTION OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774

The letters written by John Adams to Mrs. Abigail Adams, his wife, give a good account of the difficulties encountered in organizing the First Continental Congress. Mrs. Adams in reply gave excellent descriptions of affairs in and about Boston.—(Charles Francis Adams, Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife, Abigail Adams, During the Revolution, 31 *passim*. With permission of Charles Francis Adams. Hurd and Houghton. New York, 1876.)

Philadelphia 8 Sept. 1774.

John
Adams in
attendance
upon the
First
Continental
Congress.

When or where this letter will find you I know not. In what scenes of distress or terror I cannot foresee.

We have received a confused account from Boston of a dreadful catastrophe. The particulars we have not heard. We are waiting with the utmost anxiety and impatience for further intelligence. The effect of the news we have, both upon Congress and the inhabitants of this city, was very great. Great indeed! Every gentleman seems to consider the bombardment of Boston as the bombardment of the Capital of his own province. Our deliberations are grave and serious indeed.

It is a great affliction to me that I cannot write to you oftener than I do. But there are so many hindrances that I cannot.

Duties in
Congress.

It would fill volumes to give you an idea of the scenes I behold, and the characters I converse with. We have so much business, so much ceremony, so much company, so many visits to receive and return, that I have not time to write. And the times are such as to make it imprudent to write freely.

We cannot depart from this place until the business of the Congress is completed, and it is the general disposition to proceed slowly. When I shall be at home I can't say. If there is distress and danger in Boston, pray invite our friends, as many as possible, to make an asylum with you,—Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Adams, if you can.

Broad-
minded
men as
delegates.

There is in the Congress a collection of the greatest men upon this continent in point of abilities, virtues, and fortunes. The magnanimity and public spirit which I see here make me blush for the sordid, venal herd which I have seen in my own province. The addressers, and the new councillors are held in universal contempt and abhorrence from one end of the continent to the other.

Be not under any concern for me. There is little danger from anything we shall do at the Congress. There is such a spirit through the colonies, and the members of the Congress

are such characters, that no danger can happen to us which will not involve the whole continent in universal desolation; and in that case who would wish to live? Adieu.

Philadelphia 14 Sept 1774.

. . . The Congress will, to all appearances, be well united, and in such measures as I hope, will give satisfaction to the friends of our country. A Tory here is the most despicable animal in creation. Spiders, toads, snakes are their only proper emblems. The Massachusetts councillors and addressers are held in envious esteem here as you will see.

Tories.

Massachusetts delegates.

The spirit, the firmness the prudence of our province are vastly applauded, and we are universally acknowledged the saviors and defenders of American liberty. The designs and plans of Congress must not be communicated until completed, and we shall move with great deliberation. . . .

Philadelphia, 16 Sept. 1774.

Having a leisure moment while Congress is assembling, I gladly embrace it to write you a line.

When the Congress first met, Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay, of New York, and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious sentiments, some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, and some Congregationalists, that we could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose and said he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché (Dushay they pronounce it) deserved that character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers to the Congress, to-morrow morning. The motion was seconded and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our president, waited on Mr. Duché, and received for answer if his health would permit he certainly would.

Congress opened with prayer.

Accordingly, next morning he appeared with his clerk and his pontificals, and read several prayers in the established form; and then read the Collect for the seventh day of September, which was the thirty-fifth Psalm. You must remember that this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning.

After this, Mr. Duché, unexpected to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. . . .

Philadelphia, 25 September, 1774.

Business
of Con-
gress
greatly
delayed.

I would not lose the opportunity of writing to you, though I must be short. Tedious indeed is our business—slow as snails. I have not been used to such ways. We sit only before dinner. We dine at four o'clock. We are crowded with a levee in the evening.

Fifty gentlemen meeting together, all strangers, are not acquainted with each other's language, ideas, views, designs. They are, therefore, jealous of each other—fearful, timid, skittish.

9 October, 1774.

Useless
discus-
sions.

I am wearied to death with the life I lead. The business of Congress is tedious beyond expression. This assembly is like no other that ever existed. Every man in it is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man upon every question must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities.

The consequence of this is that business is drawn and spun out to an immeasurable length. I believe if it was moved and seconded that we should come to a resolution that three and two make five, we should be entertained with logic, and rhetoric, law, history, politics, and mathematics, and then—we should pass the resolution unanimously in the affirmative.

The perpetual round of feasting, too, which we are obliged to submit to, makes the pilgrimage more tedious to me. . . .

Philadelphia 17 June 1775.

I can now inform you that the Congress have made choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous, and brave George Washington, Esquire, to be General of the American army, and that he is to repair, as soon as possible, to the camp before Boston. This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies.

Washington chosen general of the army.

The continent is really in earnest, in defending the country. They have voted ten companies of riflemen to be sent from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, to join the army before Boston. These are excellent species of light infantry. They use a peculiar kind of musket, called a rifle.

Riflemen from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia go to the assistance of Boston

It has a circular groove within the barrel, and carries a ball with great exactness to great distances. They are the most accurate marksmen in the world.

I begin to hope we shall not sit all summer. I hope the people of our province will treat the General with all that confidence and affection that politeness and respect, which is due to one of the most important characters in the world. The liberties of America depend upon him, in a great degree. . . .

I have found this Congress like the last. When we first came together, I found a strong jealousy of us from New England, and the Massachusetts in particular; suspicions entertained of designs of independency; an American republic; Presbyterian principles, and twenty other things. Our sentiments were heard in Congress with great caution, and seemed to make but little impression; but the longer we sat, the more clearly they saw the necessity of pushing vigorous measures.

Jealousy of Massachusetts delegates.

It has been so now. Every day we sit, the more we are convinced that the designs against us are hostile and sanguinary, and that nothing but fortitude, vigor and perseverance can save us.

But America is a great unwieldy body. Its progress must be slow. It is like a large fleet sailing under'convoy. The fleetest sailors must wait for the dullest and slowest. Like a coach and six, the swiftest horses must be slackened, and the slowest quickened, that all may keep an even pace. . . .

Weymouth, Sunday, 18 June 1775.

The day—perhaps the decisive day—is come; on which the fate of America depends. My bursting heart must find vent at my pen.

I have just heard that our dear friend, Dr. Warren, is no more, but fell gloriously fighting for his country; saying, Better to die honorably in the field, than ignominiously hang upon the gallows. Great is our loss. He has distinguished himself in every engagement, by his courage and fortitude, by animating the soldiers and leading them on by his own example. A particular account of these dreadful, but I hope glorious days, will be transmitted to you, no doubt, in the exactest manner.

“The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong; but the God of Israel is he that giveth strength and power unto his people. Trust in him at all times, ye people, pour out your hearts before him; God is a refuge for us.” Charlestown is laid in ashes. The battle began upon our intrenchments upon Bunker's Hill, Saturday morning about three o'clock, and has not ceased yet, and it is now three o'clock Sabbath afternoon. It is expected they will come out over the Neck, to-night, and a dreadful battle must ensue. Almighty God, cover the heads of our countrymen, and be a shield to our dear friends! How many have fallen we know not. The constant roar of the cannon is so distressing that we cannot eat, drink, or sleep. May we be supported and sustained in the dreadful conflict. I shall tarry here till it is thought unsafe by my friends, and then I have secured myself a retreat at your brother's, who has kindly offered me a part of his house. I cannot compose myself to write any further at present. I will add more as I hear further. . . .

Abigail
Adams on
the battle
of Bunker
Hill.

Weymouth, 5 July, 1775.

I have received a good deal of paper from you. I wish it had been more covered; the writing is very scant, yet I must not grumble. I know your time is not yours nor mine. Your labors must be great and your mouth closed; but all you may communicate, I beg you would. There is a pleasure, I know not whence it arises, nor can I stop now to find it out, but I say there is a degree of pleasure in being able to tell news, especially any that so nearly concerns us, as all your proceedings do.

Situation
in Boston.

I should have been more particular, but I thought you knew everything that passed here. The present state of the inhabitants of Boston is that of the most abject slaves, under the most cruel and despotic of tyrants.

Among many instances I could mention, let me mention one. Upon the 17th of July, printed hand bills were posted up at the corners of the streets, and upon houses, forbidding any inhabitants to go up on their houses, or upon any eminence, on pain of death; the inhabitants dared not look out of their houses, nor to be heard or seen to ask a question.

Our prisoners were brought over to the Long Wharf, and there lay all night, without any care of their wounds, or any resting place but the pavements, until next day, when they exchanged it for the jail, since which we hear they are civilly treated. Their living cannot be good, as they can have no fresh provisions; their beef, we hear, is all gone, and their wounded men die very fast, so that they have a report that their bullets were poisoned. Fish they cannot have, they have rendered it so difficult to procure; and the admiral is such a villain as to oblige every fishing schooner to pay a dollar every time it goes out. The money that has been paid for passes is incredible.

Some have given ten, twenty, thirty, and forty dollars, to get out with a small proportion of their things. It is reported and believed that they have taken up a number of persons, and committed them to jail, we know not for what in particular. Master Lovell is confined in the dungeon; a son of

Mr. Edes is in jail, and one Wiburt, a ship-carpenter, is now upon trial for his life. God alone knows to what length these wretches will go, and will, I hope restrain their malice.

I would not have you be distressed about me. Danger, they say, makes people valiant. Hitherto I have been distressed but not dismayed. I have felt for my country and her sons. I have bled with them and for them. Not all the havoc and devastation they have made has wounded me like the death of Warren. We want him in the Senate; we want him in his profession; we want him in the field. We mourn for the citizen, the senator, the physician, and the warrior. May we have others raised up in his room. . . .

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1776-1783

32. EFFECTS OF A WEAK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, 1778

Alexander Hamilton in the following letter to George Clinton shows the influence of the weak central government in the conduct of the affairs of the Revolution. Hamilton was at the time serving as a member of Washington's staff.—(Jared Sparks, Writings of Washington, V, 508, 509.)

HEAD-QUARTERS, 13 February 1778.—Dear Sir; There is a matter, which often obtrudes itself upon my mind, and which requires the attention of every person of sense and influence among us; I mean a degeneracy of representation in the great council of America. It is a melancholy truth, Sir, the effects of which we daily see and feel, that there is not so much wisdom in a certain body as there ought to be, and as the success of our affairs absolutely demands. Many members of it are no doubt men, in every respect, fit for the trust; but this can not be said of it as a body. Folly, caprice, a want of foresight, comprehension and dignity, characterize the general tenor of their actions. Of this, I dare say, you are sensible, though you have not perhaps so many opportunities of knowing it as I have. Their conduct, with respect to the army especially, is feeble, indecisive, and improvident; insomuch that we are reduced to a more terrible situation than you can conceive. False and contracted views of economy have prevented them, though repeatedly urged to it, from making that provision for officers which was requisite to interest them in the service. This has produced such carelessness and indifference to the service, as is sub-

Decline in
ability of
represent-
atives in
Congress.

Effect on
the army.

versive to every officer-like quality. They have disgusted the army by repeated instances of the most whimsical favoritism in their promotions; and by an absurd prodigality of rank to foreigners, and to the meanest staff of the army. They have not been able to summon resolution enough to withstand the impudent importunity and vain boasting of foreign pretenders; but have manifested such a ductility and inconstancy in their proceedings, as will warrant the charge of suffering themselves to be bullied by every petty adventurer, who comes armed with ostentatious pretensions of military merit and experience. Would you believe it, Sir? it is become almost proverbial in the mouths of the French officers and other foreigners, that they have nothing more to do, to obtain whatever they please, than to assume a high tone, and assert their own merit with confidence and perseverance. These things wound my feelings as a republican more than I can express, and in some degree make me contemptible in my own eyes.

Where are
the former
leaders?

America once had a representation, that would do honor to any age or nation. The present falling off is very alarming and dangerous. What is the cause? and How is it to be remedied? are questions that the welfare of these States requires should be well attended to. The great men, who composed our first council,—are they dead, have they deserted the cause, or what has become of them? Very few are dead, and still fewer have deserted the cause; they are all, except the few who still remain in Congress, either in the field or in the civil offices of their respective States; far the greater part are engaged in the latter. The only remedy then is to take them out of these employments, and return them to the place where their presence is infinitely more important.

State service more
attractive.

Each State, in order to promote its own internal government and prosperity, has selected its best members to fill the offices within itself, and conduct its own affairs. Men have been fonder of the emoluments and conveniences of being employed at home; and local attachment, falsely operating, has made them more provident for the particular interests

of the States to which they belonged, than for the common interests of the confederacy. This is a most pernicious mistake, and must be corrected. However important it is to give form and efficiency to your interior constitutions and police; it is infinitely more important to have a wise general council; otherwise a failure of the measures of the Union will overturn all your labors for the advancement of your particular good, and ruin the common cause. You should not beggar the councils of the United States to enrich the administration of the several members. Realize to yourself the consequences of having a Congress despised at home and abroad. How can the common force be exerted, if the power of collecting it be put in weak, foolish, and unsteady hands? How can we hope for success in our European negotiations, if the nations of Europe have no confidence in the wisdom and vigor of the great Continental government? This is the object on which their eyes are fixed; hence it is, America will derive its importance or insignificance in their estimation.

A strong central government desirable.

You and I had some conversation, when I had the pleasure of seeing you last, with respect to the existence of a certain faction. Since I saw you, I have discovered such convincing traits of the monster, that I cannot doubt its reality in the most extensive sense. I dare say you have seen and heard enough to settle the matter in your own mind. I believe it unmasked its batteries too soon, and begins to hide its head; but, as I imagine it will only change the storm to a sap, all the true and sensible friends of their country, and of course to a certain great man, ought to be upon the watch, to counterplot the secret machinations of his enemies. I am, with great regard and respect, &c.

Faction against Washington.

33. AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND FRENCH ASSISTANCE DURING THE REVOLUTION

The following selection illustrates to what extent the French Government was willing to grant secret aid to America prior to the consummation of the treaty of February, 1778.

Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane to the Committee of Secret Correspondence.—(Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, II, 283-290.)

Paris, March 12, 1777.

GENTLEMEN: It is now more than four months since Mr. Franklin's departure from Philadelphia, and not a line from thence written since that time has hitherto reached either of your commissioners in Europe.

We have had no information of what passes in America but through England, and the advices are, for the most part, such only as the ministry choose to publish. Our total ignorance of the truth or falsehood of facts, when questions are asked of us concerning them, makes us appear small in the eyes of the people here, and is prejudicial to our negotiations. . . .

In our first conversation with the minister, after the arrival of Mr. Franklin, it was evident that this court, while it treated us privately with all civility, was cautious of giving umbrage to England, and was therefore desirous of avoiding an open reception or acknowledgment of us, or entering into any formal negotiation with us as ministers from Congress. To make us easy, however, we were told that the ports of France were open to our ships as friends; that our people might freely purchase and export, as merchandise, whatever our states had occasion for, vending at the same time our own commodities; that in doing this we should experience all the facilities that a Government disposed to favor us could, consistent with treaties, afford to the enemies of a friend. But though it was at that time no secret that two hundred field-pieces of brass and thirty thousand fusils, with other munitions of war in great abundance, had been taken

American
foreign
ministers
without
knowledge
of condi-
tions at
home.

Attitude
of Ver-
gennes.

French
secret rela-
tions with
America.

out of the King's magazines for the purpose of exportation to America, the minister, in our presence, affected to know nothing of that operation, and claimed no merit to his court on that account. But he intimated to us that it would be well taken if we communicated with no other person about the court concerning our affairs but himself, who would be ready at all convenient times to confer with us. . . .

Means were proposed of our obtaining a large sum of money for present use by an advance from the Farmers-General, to be repaid in tobacco, of which they wanted twenty thousand hogsheads. We entered accordingly into a treaty with that company, which meeting with difficulty in settling the terms, we were informed that a grant was made us of two millions of livres from the Crown, of which five hundred thousand was ready to be paid us down, and an equal sum should be paid at the beginning of April, July and October; that such was the King's generosity, he exacted no conditions or promises of repayment; he only required that we should not speak to any one of our having received this aid. We have accordingly observed strictly this injunction, deviating only in this information to you, which we think necessary for your satisfaction, but earnestly requesting that you would not suffer it to be made public. This is the money which, in our letter, we mentioned as raised for us by subscription. . . .

Aid from
the King
of France.

The desire that military officers here, of all ranks, have of going into the service of the United States is so general and so strong as to be quite amazing. We are hourly fatigued with their applications and offers which we are obliged to refuse, and with hundreds of letters, which we cannot possibly answer to satisfaction, having had no orders to engage any but engineers, who are accordingly gone. If the Congress thinks fit to encourage some of distinguished merit to enter their service they will please to signify it. . . .

French of-
ficers and
American
service.

We have purchased eighty thousand fusils, a number of pistols etc., of which the enclosed is an account, for two hundred and twenty thousand livres. They were King's arms and second-hand but so many of them are unused and un-

Arms from
France.

exceptionally good, that we esteem it a large bargain if only half of them should arrive. We applied for the large brass cannon, to be borrowed out of the king's stores till we could replace them, but have not yet obtained an answer. You will soon have the arms and accoutrements for the horses except the saddles, if not intercepted by the enemy.

Influence
of the Ar-
ticles of
Confeder-
ation in
Europe.

All Europe is for us. Our articles of confederation being by our means translated and published here, have given an appearance of consistence and firmness to the American States and Government that begins to make them considerable. The separate constitutions of the several States are also translating and publishing here, which afford abundance of speculation to the politicians of Europe, and it is a very general opinion that if we succeed in establishing our liberties, we shall, as soon as peace is restored, receive an immense addition of numbers and wealth from Europe, by the families who will come over to participate in our privileges, and bring their estates with them. Tyranny is so generally established in the rest of the world, that the prospect of an asylum in America for those who love liberty, gives general joy, and our cause is esteemed the cause of mankind. Slaves naturally become base, as well as wretched. We are fighting for the dignity and happiness of human nature. Glorious is it for the Americans to be called by Providence to this post of honor. Cursed and detested will everyone be that deserts or betrays it.

American
ministers
to other
courts.

We are glad to learn the intention of Congress to send ministers to the empires of Prussia and Tuscany. With submission, we think Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Russia (if the expense is no objection), should not be neglected. It would be of great service if among them we could get a free port or two for the sale of prizes, as well as for commerce. A commencement of intercourse has been made with Prussia as you will see by the enclosed copies of letters, between his minister and us.

We suppose, as the Congress has appointed one of us to Spain, they will order another of us to some of the other

courts, as we see no utility equal to the charge, and yet some inconveniency, in a joint commission here, where one, when freed from commercial cares and action is sufficient for the business. As soon as the court of Spain shall be willing to receive a minister (which, from Mr. Lee's information, seems not to be at present the case), Mr. Franklin intends to go thither in obedience to the orders he has received. Mr. Lee has expressed his readiness to go to Prussia or Tuscany, before the intention of Congress to send to those courts was known; and he waits here a while, by the advice of his colleagues, expecting that perhaps the next ship may bring his future destination . . .

For news, we refer in general to the papers, and to some letters inclosed, which we have received from London. We shall only add, that though the English begin again to threaten us with twenty thousand Russians, it is the opinion of the wisest here and particularly among the foreign ministers that they will never be sent. The Anspachers who were to be embarked in Holland, mutinied, and refused to proceed, so that the prince was obliged to go with his guards and force them on. A gentleman of Rotterdam writes us that he saw a number of them brought, bound hands and feet, in boats to that place. This does not seem as if much service can be expected from such unwilling soldiers. The British fleet is not yet half manned; the difficulty in that respect was never before found so great, and it is ascribed to several causes, viz, a dislike to war, the subtraction of American sailors, the number our privateers have taken out of British ships, and the enormous transport service. . . .

Foreign
aid to
Great
Britain.

We transmit you some affidavits, relating to the treatment of our prisoners, with a copy of our letter to Lord Stormont communicating them, and his insolent answer. We request you to present our duty to the Congress, and assure them of our most faithful services.

With great respect we have the honor to be, etc

B. FRANKLIN.

SILAS DEANE.

34. THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES BY GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, 1779

At the outbreak of the Revolution George Rogers Clark was more familiar than any other man of the time with conditions west of the Alleghany Mountains. From the year 1772 he had been engaged in surveying lands on the Ohio and assisting in the establishment of the first Kentucky settlements. He had investigated also the strength of the British forces in the Illinois country and Vincennes. His plan to capture Kaskaskia and the other posts proved acceptable to Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and in May, 1778, Colonel Clark, with his force of one hundred and fifty men, set out in boats down the Ohio River. June 24 they left the falls of the Ohio and descended the river to the mouth of the Tennessee, where they secreted their boats. A march of four days brought them to Kaskaskia on the evening of July 4. The village, having a population of five hundred whites and nearly as many slaves, and the fort, with its small garrison, were surprised during the night and captured. After the taking possession of Cahokia by Joseph Bowman, Clark took up the problems of treating with the Indian tribes and making plans for the capture of Vincennes and Detroit. The account of the march to Vincennes and the capture of that post is taken from the journal of Major Joseph Bowman, who accompanied the expedition and was one of Clark's most trusted lieutenants.—(Bowman, *Journal of The Proceedings of Colonel George R. Clark*, from 27th January, 1779, to March 20th, inst. J. A. James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Ill. Hist. Society Collections, Vol. III, 500 *et seq.*)

M. Vigo, a Spanish subject, who has been at Post St. Vincent on his lawful business, arrived and gave us intelligence that Gov. Hamilton, with thirty regulars and fifty volunteers and about 400 Indians, had arrived in November and taken that Post with Capt. Helm and such other Americans who were there with arms, . . . [two or three words illegible] . . . and disarmed the settlers and inhabitants.

17th [February]. Marched early—crossed several runs, very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy, our commissary, with three men, to cross the river Embarras, if possibel, and proceed to a plantation opposite Post St. Vincent, in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an hour

by sun we got near the river Embarras. Found the country all overflown with water. We strove to find the Wabash. Traveled till 8 o'clock in mud and water, but could find no place to camp on. Still kept marching on. But after some time Mr. Kennedy and his party returned. Found it impossible to cross Embarras river. We found the water falling from a small spot of ground; staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

18th. At break of day heard Gov. Hamilton's morning gun. Set off and marched down the river. Saw some fine land. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash; made rafts for four men to cross and go up to town and steal boats. But they spent day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

19th. Capt. McCarty's company set to making a canoe; and at 3 o'clock the four men returned after spending the night on some old logs in the water. The canoe finished, Capt. McCarty with three of his men embarked in the canoe and made the third attempt to steal boats. But he soon returned, having discovered four large fires about a league distant from our camp, which seemed to him to be fires of whites and Indians. Immediately Col. Clark sent two men in the canoe, down to meet the batteau, with orders to come on day and night; that being our last hope, and (we) starving. Many of the men much cast down, particularly the volunteers. No provisions of any sort, now two days. Hard fortune! . . .

21st. At break of day began to ferry our men over in our two canoes to a small hill called the Momib or Bubbriss. Capt. Williams, with two men, went to look for a passage and were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not fetch them to. The whole army being over, we thought to get to town that night, so plunged into the water sometimes to the neck, for more than one league, when we stopped on the next hill of the same name, there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilots say we cannot get

along, that it is impossible. The whole army being over we encamped. Rain all this day—no provisions.

22d. Col. Clark encourages his men, which gave them great spirits. Marched on in the waters. Those that were weak and famished from so much fatigue, went in the canoes. We came one league farther to some sugar camps, where we stayed all night. Heard the evening and morning guns from the fort. No provisions yet. Lord help us!

23d. Set off to cross the plain called Horse-shoe Plain, about four miles long, all covered with water breast high. Here we expected some of our brave men must certainly perish, having froze in the night, and so long fasting. Having no other resource but wading this plain, or rather lake, of waters, we plunged into it with courage, Col. Clark, being first, taking care to have the boats try to take those that were weak and numbed with the cold into them. Never were men so animated with the thought of avenging the wrongs done to their back settlements, as this small army was.

About one o'clock we came in sight of the town. We halted on a small hill of dry land called Warren's [Warrior's] Island, where we took a prisoner hunting ducks, who informed us that no person suspected our coming at that season of the year. Col. Clark wrote a letter by him to the inhabitants, in the following manner:

TO THE INHABITANTS OF POST ST. VINCENTS:

Gentlemen:—Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens, and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be, that are friends to the King, will instantly repair to the fort and join the Hair-buyer General, and fight like men. And if any such, as do not go to the Fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those that are true friends to liberty, may depend on being well treated. And

I once more request them to keep out of the streets; for every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat as an enemy.

(Signed)

G. R. CLARK.

In order to give time to publish this letter, we lay still till about sundown, when we began our march all in order, with colours flying and drums braced. After wading to the edge of the water breast high, we mounted the rising ground the town is built on about 8 o'clock. Lieut. Bayley, with fourteen regulars, was detached to fire on the Fort, while we took possession of the town, and ordered to stay till he was relieved by another party, which was soon done. Reconnoitered about to find a place to throw up an entrenchment. Found one, and set Capt. Bowman's company to work. Soon crossed the main street, about one hundred and twenty yards from the first gate. We were informed that Capt. Lamath [Lamothe], with a party of twenty-five men, were out on a scout, who heard our firing and came back. We sent a party to intercept them, but missed them. However we took one of their men, and one Capt. Maison Ville, a principal man; the rest making their escape under the cover of the night into the fort. The cannon played smartly. Not one of our men wounded. Men in the Fort badly wounded. Fine sport for the sons of Liberty.

24th. As soon as daylight, the Fort began to play her small arms very briskly. One of our men got slightly wounded. About 9 o'clock the Colonel sent a flag with a letter to Governor Hamilton. The firing then ceased, during which time our men were provided with a breakfast, it being the only meal of victuals since the 18th inst.

Col. Clark's Letter as follows:

SIR:—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c., &c., &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment

as is justly due a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers, or letters, that are in your possession; for, by Heavens, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

(Signed)

G. R. CLARK.

Answer from Gov. Hamilton:

Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark, that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into an action unworthy of British subjects.

Terms of Capitulation.

1. That Lieut. Col. Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, &c., &c.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements, &c., &c.

3. The garrison to be delivered up at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

4. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed the necessary baggage, &c., &c.

Signed at Post St. Vincents, 24th Feb., 1779.

Agreed to for the following reasons: The remoteness from succors; the state and quantity of provisions, &c.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

(Signed)

HENRY HAMILTON,
Lieut. Gov. and Superintendent.

35. THE REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

(David Ramsay [of South Carolina], *The History of the American Revolution*, II, 310, 324 *passim*. London, 1793.)

Opponents
of the Rev-
olution.

Previous to the American revolution, the inhabitants of the British colonies were universally loyal. That three mil-

lions of such subjects should break through all former attachments, and unanimously adopt new ones, could not reasonably be expected. The revolution had its enemies, as well as its friends, in every period of the war. Country, religion, local policy, as well as private views, operated in disposing the inhabitants to take different sides. The New-England provinces being mostly settled by one sort of people, were nearly of one sentiment. The influence of placemen in Boston, together with the connections which they had formed by marriages, had attached sundry influential characters in that capital to the British interests, but these were but as the dust in the balance, when compared with the numerous independent Whig yeomanry of the country. The same and other causes produced a large number in New York, who were attached to royal government. That city had long been headquarters of the British army in America, and many intermarriages, and other connections, had been made between British officers, and some of their first families. The practice of entailing estates had prevailed in New York to a much greater extent, than in any of the other provinces. The governors thereof had long been in the habit of indulging their favorites with extravagant grants of land. This had introduced the distinction of landlord and tenant. There was therefore, in New York, an aristocratic party, respectable for numbers, wealth, and influence, which had much to fear from independence. The city was also divided into parties by the influence of two ancient and numerous families, the Livingstones and Delanceys. These having been long accustomed to oppose each other at elections, could rarely be brought to unite in any political measures. In this controversy, one almost universally took part with America, the other with Great Britain. . . .

Religion also divided the inhabitants of America: the Presbyterians and Independents were almost universally attached to the measures of Congress. Their religious societies are governed on the republican plan.

Religious
societies
and the
Revolution.

From independence they had much to hope, but from Great

Britain, if finally successful, they had reason to fear the establishment of a church hierarchy. Most of the episcopal ministers of the northern provinces were pensioners on the bounty of the British government. The greatest part of their clergy, and many of their laity in these provinces, were therefore disposed to support a connection with Great Britain. The episcopal clergy in the southern provinces being under no such bias, were often among the warmest Whigs. Some of them foreseeing the downfall of religious establishments from the success of the Americans, were less active: but in general, where their church was able to support itself, their clergy and laity zealously espoused the cause of independence. Great pains were taken to persuade them, that those who had been called dissenters, were aiming to abolish the episcopal establishment to make way for their own exaltation; but the good sense of the people restrained them from giving any credit to the unfounded suggestion. Religious controversy was happily kept out of view, the well-informed of all denominations were convinced, that the contest was for their civil rights, and therefore did not suffer any other considerations to interfere, or disturb their union.

The Quakers, with a few exceptions, were averse to independence. In Pennsylvania they were numerous, and had power in their hands. Revolutions in government are rarely patronised by any body of men, who foresee that a diminution of their own importance, is likely to result from the change. Quakers, from religious principles, were averse to war, and therefore could not be friendly to a revolution, which could only be effected by the sword. Several individuals separated from them on account of their principles, and following the impulse of their inclinations, joined their countrymen in arms. The services America received from two of their society, Generals Greene and Mifflin, made some amends for the embarrassments which the disaffection of the great body of their people occasioned to the exertions of the active friends of independence.

The age and temperament of individuals had often an in-

fluence in fixing their political character. Old men were seldom warm Whigs: they could not relish the great changes which were daily taking place; attached to ancient forms and habits, they could not readily accommodate themselves to new systems. Few of the very rich were active in forwarding the revolution. This was remarkably the case in the eastern and middle states; but the reverse took place in the southern extreme of the confederacy. There were in no part of America more determined Whigs than the opulent slaveholders in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The active and spirited part of the community, which felt themselves possessed of talents that would raise them to eminence in a free government, longed for the establishment of independent constitutions; but those who were in possession or expectation of royal favor, or of promotion from Great Britain, wished that the connection between the Parent State and the Colonies might be preserved. The young, the ardent, the ambitious, and the enterprising, were mostly Whigs; but the phlegmatic, the timid, the interested, and those who wanted decision were, in general, favourers of Great Britain, or at least only the lukewarm, inactive friends of independence. The Whigs received a great reinforcement from the operation of continental money. In the year 1775, 1776, and in the first months of 1777, while the bills of Congress were in good credit, the effects of them were the same, as if a foreign power had made the United States a present of twenty million of silver dollars. The circulation of so large a sum of money, and the employment given to great numbers in providing for the American army, increased the numbers and invigorated the zeal of the friends to the revolution; on the same principles, the American war was patronised in England, by the many contractors and agents for transporting and supplying the British army. In both cases, the inconveniences of interrupted commerce were lessened by the employment which war and a domestic circulation of money substituted in its room. The convulsions of war afforded excellent shelter for desperate debtors. The spirit of the times revolted against

Young
men and
the Revolu-
tion.

Self-inter-
est and the
Revolu-
tion.

dragging to jails for debt, men who were active and zealous in defending their country, and on the other hand, those who owed more than they were worth, by going within the British lines, and giving themselves the merit of suffering on the score of loyalty, not only put their creditors to defiance, but sometimes obtained promotion, or other special marks of royal favour.

Influence
of the Rev-
olution on
the people.

The American revolution, on the one hand, brought forth great vices; but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occasion for the display of abilities which, but for that event, would have been lost to the world. When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics, and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them on thinking, speaking, and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed. The difference between nations is not so much owing to nature, as to education and circumstances. While the Americans were guided by the leading strings of the Mother Country, they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion. All the departments of government were established and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776, the country, being suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its sons, these generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pursued their objects with ardour, a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed. This displayed itself in a variety of ways. . . .

The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and business had brought the inhabitants of their sea-ports acquainted with each other, but the bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow-citizens. A continental army, and a Congress composed of men from all the States, by freely mixing together, were assimilated into one mass. Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, disseminated principles of

union among them. Local prejudices abated. By frequent collision, asperities were worn off, and a foundation was laid for the establishment of a nation out of discordant materials. Intermarriages between men and women of different States were much more common than before the war, and became an additional cement to the union. Unreasonable jealousies had existed between the inhabitants of the eastern and of the southern States; but on becoming better acquainted with each other, these in a great measure subsided. A wiser policy prevailed. Men of liberal minds led the way in discouraging local distinctions, and the great body of the people, as soon as reason got the better of prejudice, found that their best interests would be most effectually promoted by such practices and sentiments as were favourable to union. Religious bigotry had broken in upon the peace of various sects before the American war; this was kept up by partial establishments, and by a dread that the church of England, through the power of the mother country, would be made to triumph over all other denominations. These apprehensions were done away by the revolution. The different sects, having nothing to fear from each other, dismissed all religious controversy. . . .

Though schools and colleges were generally shut up during the war, yet many of the arts and sciences were promoted by it. The geography of the United States before the revolution was but little known: but the marches of armies, and the operations of war, gave birth to many geographical inquiries and discoveries, which otherwise would not have been made. A passionate fondness for studies of this kind, and the growing importance of the country, excited one of its sons, the Rev. Mr. Morfe, to travel through every State of the Union, and amass a fund of topographical knowledge, far exceeding anything heretofore communicated to the public. The necessities of the States led to the study of tactics, fortification, gunnery, and a variety of other arts connected with war, and diffused a knowledge of them among

Increased
knowledge
of the
country.

a peaceable people, who would otherwise have had no inducement to study them. . . .

Develop-
ment of
surgery
and medi-
cine.

Surgery was one of the arts which was promoted by the war. From the want of hospitals and other aids, the medical men of America had few opportunities of perfecting themselves in this art, the thorough knowledge of which can only be acquired by practice and observation. The melancholy events of battles gave the American students an opportunity of seeing, and learning more in one day, than they could have acquired in years of peace. It was in the hospitals of the United States that Dr. Rush first discovered the method of curing the lock-jaw by bark and wine added to other invigorating remedies, which has since been adopted with success in Europe, as well as in the United States.

Growth of
the science
of govern-
ment.

The science of government has been more generally diffused among the Americans by means of the revolution. The policy of Great Britain in throwing them out of her protection, induced a necessity of establishing independent constitutions. This led to reading and reasoning on the subject. The many errors that were at first committed by unexperienced statesmen, have been a practical comment on the folly of unbalanced constitutions, and injudicious laws. The discussions concerning the new constitution gave birth to much reasoning on the subject of government and particularly to a series of letters signed Publius, but really the work of Alexander Hamilton, in which much political knowledge and wisdom were displayed, and which will long remain a monument of the strength and acuteness of the human understanding in investigating truth.

When Great Britain first began her encroachments on the Colonies, there were few natives of America who had distinguished themselves as speakers or writers, but the controversy between the two countries multiplied their number. . . .

On the whole, the literary, political, and military talents of the citizens of the United States have been improved by the

revolution, but their moral character is inferior to what it formerly was. So great is the change for the worse, that the friends of public order were loudly called upon to exert their utmost abilities in extirpating the vicious principles and habits which have taken deep root during the late convulsions. . . .

CHAPTER XII

THE PERIOD OF THE CONFEDERATION, 1781-1789

36. GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONFEDERATION A FAILURE

No man of his time was better prepared to discuss the weaknesses of the government under the Articles of Confederation than John Jay. As president of Congress, minister to Spain, one of the commissioners to negotiate the peace of 1783, and secretary of foreign affairs, he had seen how inefficient the national government really was. The following letters set forth his views on numerous topics. —(John Jay, *Correspondence and Public Papers*, III, 221-229. Edited by Henry P. Johnston, permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1891.)

JOHN JAY TO JACOB REED

New York, 12th December, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

Delay for
want of a
quorum in
Congress.

Apathy of
the States.

Your friendly letter has long remained unanswered; but a variety of private as well as public affairs constrained me to postpone indulging myself in the pleasure I always derive from writing to my friends. The recess (if I may so call it) of Congress gives their officers too much leisure at present; and there is reason to fear that the members will be as long in convening this year as they were last. Business is at a stand for want of an adequate representation. The languor of the States is to be lamented; many inconveniences have already arisen from it, and if continued, serious evils will awaken our people. Our affairs, my dear sir, are in a delicate situation, and it is much to be wished that the real patriots throughout the States would exert themselves to

render it more safe and respectable. The feuds in Massachusetts are rather suspended than extinguished. What events they may ultimately produce is uncertain; but I should not be surprised if much trouble was to result from them. The public creditors will soon become importunate, and Congress cannot create the means of satisfying them. It is true that order usually succeeds confusion; but it is a high price to pay for order, especially when a little virtue and good sense would procure it for us on very reasonable terms. If the best men would be prevailed upon to come forward, and take the lead in our legislatures as well as in Congress, and would unite their efforts to rescue their country from its present condition, our affairs, both at home and abroad, would soon wear a more pleasing aspect. It is time for our people to distinguish more accurately than they seem to do between liberty and licentiousness. The late Revolution would lose much of its glory, as well as utility, if our conduct should confirm the tory maxim, "That men are incapable of governing themselves."

Disorders
due to lack
of public
credit.

With real esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN JAY.

JOHN JAY TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

Office for Foreign Affairs

14 December, 1786.

. . . Our country is fertile, abounding in useful productions, and those productions in demand and bearing a good price; yet relaxation in government and extravagance in individuals creates much public and private distress and much public and private want of good faith.

Evils due
to weak
government.

The public papers will tell you how much reason we have to apprehend an Indian war, and to suspect that Britain instigates it. In my opinion our Indian affairs have been ill managed. Details would be tedious. Indians have been murdered by our people in cold blood, and no satisfaction

Mismanagement of
Indian affairs.

Isolated
settle-
ments con-
demned.

given; nor are they pleased with the avidity with which we seek to acquire their land. Would it not be wiser gradually to extend our settlements, as want of room should make it necessary, than to pitch our tents through the wilderness in a great variety of places, far distant from each other, and from those advantages of education, civilization, law and government which compact settlements and neighbourhoods afford?—and will they not become more formidable to us than the tawny ones which now inhabit it? . . .

JOHN JAY TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL

New York, 4th January, 1787.

DEAR SIR

Since the 3d day of November last a sufficient number of States to do business have not been represented in Congress, and it is doubtful whether some weeks more will not elapse before that will be the case. Hence it is that I am obliged to be less particular than I should otherwise be on sundry subjects.

Troubles
in Massa-
chusetts.

The public papers have informed you of commotions in Massachusetts. They have not yet subsided although that government has manifested great moderation, and condescended to treat the complaints of the malcontents with much respect. What may be the issue of those disturbances, or how far they will extend, is as yet far from certain.

General
govern-
ment inef-
ficient.

The inefficiency of the Federal Government becomes more and more manifest, and how it is to be amended is a question that engages the serious attention of the best people in all the States. Endeavours are making to form a convention for the purpose, but it is not clear that all the States will join in that measure. On this and on some other great points the public mind is fluctuating though uneasy; perhaps a few months more may produce a greater degree of decision. . . .

JOHN JAY TO SAMUEL WASHINGTON

NEW YORK, 7th January, 1787.

DEAR SIR:

They who regard the public good with more attention and attachment than they do mere personal concerns must feel and confess the force of such sentiments as are expressed in your letter to me by Colonel Humphrey last fall. The situation of our affairs calls not only for reflection and prudence, but for exertion. What is to be done? is a common question not easy to answer. . . .

Shall we have a king? Not in my opinion while other experiments remain untried. Might we not have a Governor-General limited in his prerogatives and duration? Might not Congress be divided into an upper and lower house—the former appointed for life, the latter annually—and let the Governor-General (to preserve the balance), with the advice of a council, formed for that only purpose, of the great judicial officers, have a negative on their acts? Our government should in some degree be suited to our manners and circumstances, and they, you know, are not strictly democratical. What powers should be granted to the government so constituted is a question which deserves much thought. I think the more the better, the States retaining only so much as may be necessary for domestic purposes, and all their principal officers, civil and military, being commissioned and removable by the national government. These are short hints. Details would exceed the limit of a letter, and to you be superfluous.

What form of executive should the general government adopt?

Powers to be granted the National Government.

Would it not be better for Congress plainly and in strong terms to declare that the present Federal Government is inadequate for the purposes for which it was instituted; that they forbear to point out its particular defects or to ask for an extension of any particular powers, lest improper jealousies should thence arise; but that in their opinion it would be

Weakness of Confederation should be known.

General convention of the colonies should be called.

expedient for the people of the States without delay to appoint State conventions (in the way they choose their general assemblies), with the sole and express power of appointing deputies to a general convention who, or the majority of whom should take into consideration the Articles of Confederation, and make such alterations, amendments, and additions thereto as to them should appear necessary and proper, and which being by them ordained and published should have the same force and obligation which all or any of the present articles now have?

No alterations in the government should, I think, be made, nor if attempted will easily take place, unless deducible from the only source of just authority—the *People*.

Accept, my dear sir, my warmest and most cordial wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me to be with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your most obedient servant

JOHN JAY.

37. A PICTURE OF PIONEER LIFE

Daniel Drake was born near Plainfield, N. J., in 1785. Influenced by the glowing accounts about Kentucky, his father decided to take his family there to make a home. During the year 1788, together with four other families, they set out.

In the letters is described the life connected with the growth of an early Western State. The writer was one of the leaders in the development of the Middle West. He was the first student of medicine in Cincinnati, a town of some four hundred inhabitants. He was a nominal student of medicine for four years. For three of these years a part of his training consisted in distributing medicines which had been prepared in the "doctor's shop." In the year 1806 he began the practice of medicine in Cincinnati, and for the remainder of his life was noted as physician, writer, and teacher.—(Daniel Drake, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*, 8-11, 163-184 *passim*.)

The time fixed on for their departure was the latter part of the spring of 1788.

Behold, then, the departure! These five persons, three of whom were adults, with all their earthly goods crowded into

Crossing the Alleghenies.

one Jersey wagon, to be hauled by two horses over the yet steep and rugged Alleghany Mountains, and throughout an overland journey of nearly four hundred miles. There were but few taverns on the way, and if there had been many, we should not have been much the better for them, as father's means were too limited to admit of a participation in their comforts. He could only purchase necessary food, which was cooked when we stopped at night and before we started in the morning. As the weather was mild, our lodgings were often in the wagon. . . .

The first and last landing before reaching Limestone was at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg. The danger of being attacked by the Indians was too great to justify a landing between that point and Limestone. The flotilla I presume consisted of several boats. That which my parents were in met with no accident; and on the 10th of June, 1788, just sixty-four days after the first settlement of Ohio at Marietta, we landed at Limestone, which then consisted of a few cabins only, though Washington, four miles off, was something of a village—of log cabins. . . .

At that time there was a great immigration into the interior counties of Kentucky, chiefly from the State of Virginia. Lexington, settled about the year 1776, had in fact become already a considerable town. . . .

Migration
to Ken-
tucky.

No attack was made on them either by night or day, and before winter set in their rude cabins, each with its port holes and a strong bar across the door, were completed. The roofs were of clap-boards, and the floors of puncheons, for sawing was out of the question. Another and, to nearly the whole colony, the last removal now took place. Kentucky was no longer a promise, but a possession—not an imagination, but a reality; they had ceased to be Jerseymen, and become Virginians; for at that time the daughter was still a member of her mother's house. . . .

Houses of
the pio-
neers.

For the next six years my father continued to reside at the same place, in the same original log cabin, which in due course of time acquired a roof, a puncheon floor below and

Means of
defence.

a clap-board roof above, a small square window without glass, and a chimney, carried up with "cats and clay" to the height of the ridge-pole. These "cats and clay" were pieces of small poles, well imbedded in mortar. The rifle, indispensable both for hunting and defense, lay on two pegs driven into one of the logs; the axe, and scythe—no Jerseyman emigrated without those implements—were kept at night under the bed as weapons of defense, in case the Indians should make an attack. In the morning the first duty was to ascend, by a ladder which always stood leaning behind the door, to the loft, and look out through the cracks for Indians, lest they might have planted themselves near the door, to rush in when the strong cross-bar should be removed, and the heavy latch raised from its resting place. But no attack was ever made on his or any other of the four cabins which composed the station. . . .

Clearing
the land.

The first and greatest labor after father had thus domiciliated his little family, was to clear sufficient land for a crop the following year, which was, of course, to consist of corn and a few garden vegetables. The autumn of 1789 would have brought forth a sufficient abundance, but that on the night of the last day of August there came so severe a frost as to kill the unripe corn, and almost break the hearts of those who had watched its growth from day to day in joyous anticipation.

Lack of
food.

From the time of their arrival in Kentucky, fourteen months before, they had suffered from want of bread, and now they found themselves doomed to the same deficiency for another year. There was no fear of famine, but they cloyed on animal food, and sometimes almost loathed it, though of an excellent quality. Deer were numerous, and wild turkeys numberless. There was no longing for the "flesh-pots" of native land, but their hearts yearned for its meat and abounding wheat-bread trays.

Danger
from In-
dians.

Up to the victory of Wayne in 1794, the danger from Indians still continued; that is through a period of six years from the time of our arrival. I well remember that Indian

wars, midnight butcheries, captivities, and horse-stealings, were the daily topics of conversation. Volunteering to pursue marauding parties occasionally took place, and sometimes men were drafted. At that time, as at present, there were many young men who delighted in war much more than work, and therefore preferred the tomahawk to the axe. At that period, the Shawnees residing on the Scioto, and the Wyandots on the Sandusky, were our great enemies. The children were told at night, "lie still and go to sleep, or the Shawnees will catch you." Through the period of which I have been speaking, and for several years afterward, and I well recollect, nearly all my troubled or vivid dreams included either Indians or snakes—the copper-colored man, and the copper-headed snake, then extremely common.

Soon after the settlement at Mayslick, all the people being either professors of religion in, or adherents to, the Baptist church, a log meeting-house was built about a quarter of a mile up the road, to the south, and Parson Wood, of Washington, frequently came out to preach. . . .

Religious
profession.

Within the six years that elapsed, the number of settlers had increased to such an extent that one could not wander a mile in any direction, without meeting with a clearing of two or ten acres, often enclosed with a brush fence, and designated as a human residence by a one-story unhewed log cabin with the latch string always out, and the usual number of ragged children around the door. . . .

Increase of
settlers.

Nothing is equal to the Indian corn for the settlers of a new and isolated spot. At the present time, when steamboats not only transport the movers to every point, but afterward supply them with flour and every needful article of food, the value of corn to the first settlers of Kentucky can only be estimated by those who witnessed the pressure of the arm of civilization against the resisting forest, and saw that men had to support themselves while they were performing the very labor from which support must come. In the new soil, corn, with moderate cultivation, yielded from sixty to eighty bushels to the acre.

Corn a necessity
for food.

Frontier
sports.

. . . But I must pass on to the antagonisms of the corn-husking. When the crop was drawn in, the ears were heaped into a long pile or rick, a night fixed on, and the neighbors notified, rather than invited, for it was an affair of mutual assistance. As they assembled at nightfall the green glass quart whisky bottle, stopped with a cob, was handed to every one, man or boy, as they arrived, to take a drink. A sufficient number to constitute a quorum having arrived, two men, or more commonly two boys, constituted themselves, or were by acclamation declared captains. They paced the rick or estimated its contractions and expansions with the eye, till they were able to fix on the spot on which the end of the dividing rail should be. In a few minutes the rick was charged upon by rival forces. As others arrived, as soon as the owner had given each the bottle, he fell in, according to the end that he belonged to. The captains planted themselves on each side of the rail, sustained by their most active operatives. There at the beginning was the great contest, for it was lawful to cause the rail to slide or fall toward your end, shortening it and lengthening the other. Although nearly fifty years have rolled away, I have never seen a more anxious rivalry, nor a fiercer struggle. It was there that I first learned that competition is the mother of cheating, falsehood, and broils. The heap cut in two, the parties turned their backs upon each other, and making their hands keep time with a peculiar sort of time, the chorus of voices on a still night might be heard a mile. The oft-replenished whisky bottle meanwhile circulated freely, and at the close the victorious captain, mounted on the shoulders of some of the stoutest men, with the bottle in one hand and his hat in the other, was carried in triumph around the vanquished party amidst shouts of victory which rent the air. Then came the supper, upon which the women had been busily employed, and which always included a "pot-pie." Either before or after eating the fighting took place, and by midnight the sober were found assisting the drunken home. Such was one of my autumnal schools, from the age of nine to fifteen years.

I was taught the value of learning, by being denied the opportunities for acquiring more than a pittance. I was taught the value of time, by having more to do day after day than could be well accomplished. I was molded to do many things, if not absolutely at the same time, in such quick succession as almost to render them identical; a habit which I have found of great advantage to me through life. But better than all these, I grew up with love and obedience to my mother, and received from her an early moral training, to which, in conjunction with that of my father, I owe, perhaps, more of my humble success in life, and of my humble preparation for the life to come, than to any other influence. She was still more illiterate than my father, but was pious, and could read the Bible, Rippon's hymns, and Pilgrim's Progress. Her natural understanding was tolerable only, but she comprehended the principles of domestic and christian duty, and sought to inculcate them. This she never did by protracted lectures, but mixed them up with all our daily labors.

Education
of the
youth.

The era of division of labor and distribution of commodities on sale, had not yet arrived; and, of course, no particular branch was pushed very far; and least of all, that which ministered to intellectual improvement, for its articles were least in demand. Bibles, hymn-books, primers, spelling-books, arithmetics, and almanacs, in fact, composed, in most instances, the importation, which was always from Philadelphia, the only city of the seaboard which maintained any commercial intercourse with the infant settlements of the interior. Our preachers and teachers were, in general, almost as destitute as the people at large, many of whom could neither read or write, did not send their children to school, and, of course, kept no books in the house. Of our own library I have already spoken incidentally. A family Bible, Rippon's Hymns, Watt's Hymns for Children, the Pilgrim's Progress, an old romance of the days of knight-errantry, primers, with a plate representing John Rogers at the stake, spelling-books, an arithmetic, and a new almanac

Books.

for the new year, composed all that I can recollect, till within two or three years of my leaving home.

Hospital-
ity general
on the
frontier.
Society
crude.

Immigrants into the wilderness are or rather become, so-
cial and hospitable; for their isolation makes them glad to
see each other. They have private or family visiting, with
abundance of small talk about the countries they had left,
about their pursuits, their children, and their neighbors, in
the last of which, according to my experience, they do not
yield to people under any other circumstances. They also
have many gatherings. Some are composed of men and boys
only, for raising houses, stables, and barns, or rolling logs,
for husking corn, for opening new roads, and other purposes;
all of which I have repeatedly attended, and well recollect
that profanity, vulgarity and drinking were their most emi-
nent characteristics. All drank, though not to excess.
Coarse jocularities were scarcely frowned upon by any.
Some sort of physical amusement, including fights, in which
biting and gouging were essential elements, with the beastly
intoxication of several would generally wind up these meet-
ings.

We had other gatherings composed of females only, or of
the two sexes united. Dances were not common. Weddings,
commonly in the day time, were scenes of carousal and of
mirth. Another kind of gathering was the quilting party.

Military
training.

Mayslick, although scarcely a village, was at once an em-
porium and capital for a tract of country six or eight miles
in diameter and embracing several hundred families, of which
those in my father's neighborhood were tolerably fair speci-
mens. . . . It was the place for holding regimental militia
musters, where all the boys, and old men of the surrounding
country, not less than those who stood enrolled, would assem-
ble; and before dispersing at night, the training was quite
eclipsed by a heterogeneous drama of foot racing, pony rac-
ing, wrestling, fighting, drunkenness and general uproar. It
was also a place for political meetings and stump conflict by
opposing candidates, and after intellectual performances there
generally followed an epilogue of oaths, yells, loud blows,

and gnashing of teeth. Singing-schools were likewise held at the same place, in a room of Deacon Morris' tavern.

It may be interesting to you to know something of the Baptist preachers and the prevalent religious ideas of those days. Most of the former were illiterate persons, but some were men of considerable natural talents. . . . A great deal of the preaching of those times was doctrinal, I might say metaphysical, and most of the religious conversation which I heard was of the same kind. Election, reprobation, and predestination were the favorite themes. They were all held strongly in the affirmative, and the slightest doubt was branded as tending to heresy.

Christian doctrines.

Denominational difficulties.

Presbyterian ministers occasionally preached in the village; but they found little favor with the predominant Baptist people. The objections to them, as I well recollect, were their advocacy of sprinkling and infant baptism, and their having been educated in early life to the ministry as to a profession.

The Methodists were, in the main, Marylanders and Virginians, the former predominating. Most of them were among the lamentably ignorant. The high and disorderly excitement which characterized their worship was equally lamentable. Their preachers, in point of learning, were even below those of the Baptist connection.

My superstition, and that of the people of Mayslick, in the days of which I am writing, extended to other things than heaven and hell. It embraced omens, ghosts, and even self-notions of dead men's bones. . . . We had, at the period of which I write, several common and current credulities, which were not superstitions, though they are erroneously called so. A belief in the influence of the moon, not only on the atmosphere, but on vegetation and even animal life, was common. Thus, radishes must be planted at the decrease of the moon, for they tapered downward; and so of some other vegetables. And hogs must not be killed in the dark or decrease of that luminary, for the pork would shrink and waste away in the barrel. Then there were the twelve signs of the Zodiac,

Credulities of the people.

presiding over twelve different parts of the living body in the twelve months of the year but where or what the Zodiac was, no one knew. Notwithstanding our ignorance, or rather, in consequence of it, we believed that many things must be done, or left undone, during the reign of each constellation, and therefore the almanac was an important book of reference. . . .

38. A WEAK FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND TRADE CONDITIONS, 1787

Tench Coxe was a member of the Annapolis Convention, 1786, and also of the Continental Congress, 1788. In 1789, he was made assistant secretary of the treasury. He is noted as a political economist and for his discussions of American industrial problems.—(Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America*, 4, 5, 26–32. Philadelphia, 1794.)

Industrial
crisis.

There are in every country certain important crises, when exertion or neglect must produce consequences of the utmost moment. The period, at which the inhabitants of these states have now arrived, will be admitted, by every attentive and serious person, to be clearly of this description.

Reason for
crisis.

Our money absorbed by a wanton consumption of imported luxuries, a fluctuating paper medium beginning to be substituted in its stead, foreign commerce extremely circumscribed, and a federal government not only ineffective but disjointed, tell us indeed too plainly, that further negligence may ruin us forever. . . .

Further
causes for
commercial troubles.

The commercial citizens of America have for some time felt the deepest distress. Among the principal causes of their unhappy situation were the inconsiderate spirit of adventure to this country, which pervaded almost every kingdom in Europe; and the prodigious credit there given to our merchants on the return of peace. To these may be added, the high spirits, and the golden dreams, which naturally followed such a war, closed with so much honour and success.—Triumphant over a great enemy, courted by the most powerful

nations in the world, it was not in human nature, that America should immediately comprehend her new situation. Really possessed of the means of future greatness, she anticipated the most distant benefits of the revolution, and considered them as already in her hands. She formed the highest expectations; many of which, however, serious experience has taught her to relinquish: and now that the thoughtless adventures and imprudent credits from foreign countries take place no more, and time has been given for cool reflection, she can see her real situation, and need not be discouraged. . . .

The foundations of national wealth and consequence are so firmly laid in the United States, that no foreign power can undermine or destroy them. But the enjoyment of these substantial blessings is rendered precarious by domestic circumstances. Scarcely held together by a weak and half-formed federal constitution, the powers of our national government are unequal to the complete execution of any salutary purpose, foreign or domestic. The evils resulting from this unhappy state of things have again shocked our reviving credit, produced among our people alarming instances of disobedience to the laws, and, if not remedied, must destroy our property, liberties, and peace. Foreign powers, however disposed to favour us, can expect neither satisfaction nor benefit from treaties with Congress, while it is unable to enforce them. We can therefore hope to secure no privileges from them, if matters be thus conducted. We must immediately remedy this defect, or suffer exceedingly. Desultory commercial acts of the legislatures, formed on the impression of the moment, proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, clashing with the laws of other states, and opposing those made in the preceding year by the enacting state, can no longer be supported, if we be to continue one people. A system, which will promote the general interests, with the smallest injury to particular ones, has become indispensably necessary. Commerce is more affected by the distractions and evils arising from the uncertainty, opposition, and errors, of our trade laws, than by the restrictions of any one power

Weakness
of govern-
ment.

Influence
of a weak
govern-
ment on
foreign af-
fairs.

Conflict in
legislation.

Uncertain
trade laws
and com-
merce.

in Europe. A negative upon all commercial acts of the legislatures, if granted to Congress, would be perfectly safe, and must have an excellent effect. If thought expedient, it should be given as well with regard to those that exist, as to those that may be devised in future. Congress would thus be enabled to prevent every regulation, that might oppose the general interest; and by restraining the states from impolitic laws, would gradually bring our national commerce to order and perfection. . . .

Restoration of public credit a necessity.

The restoration of public credit at home and abroad should be the first wish of our hearts, and requires every economy, every exertion we can make. The wise and virtuous axioms of our political constitutions, resulting from a lively and perfect sense of what is due from man to man, should prompt us to the discharge of debts of such peculiar obligation. We stand bound to no common creditors. The friendly foreigner, the widow and the orphan, the trustees of charity and religion, the patriotic citizen, the war-worn soldier, and a magnanimous ally—these are the principal claimants upon the feelings and justice of America. Let her apply all her resources to this great duty, and wipe away the darkest stain, that has ever fallen upon her. The general import—the sale of the lands, and every other unnecessary article of public property—restraining with a firm hand every needless expence of government and private life—steady and patient industry, with proper dispositions in the people—would relieve us of part of the burden, enable Congress to commence it's payments, and, with the aid of taxation, would put the sinking and funding of our debts within the power of the United States.

Influence of tender laws.

The violence committed on the rights of property under the authority of tender laws, in some of the states; the familiarity with which that pernicious measure has been recurred to; and the shameless perseverance with which it has been persisted in, after the value of the paper was confessedly gone; call aloud for some remedy. This is not merely a matter of justice between man and man. It dishonours our national character abroad, and the engine has been employed to give

the coup de grace to public credit. It would not be difficult, perhaps, to form a new article of confederation to prevent it in future; and a question may arise, whether fellowship with any state, that would refuse to admit it, can be satisfactory or safe. To remove difficulties it need not be retrospective. The present state of things, instead of inviting emigrants, deters all who have the means of information, and are capable of thinking. The settlement of our lands, and the introduction of manufactories and branches of trade yet unknown among us, or requiring a great capital, which are to make our country rich and powerful, are interrupted and suspended by our want of public credit and the numerous disorders of our government. . . .

Influence
of com-
mercial
disturb-
ances
on im-
migration.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

39. THE FIRST ABOLITION SOCIETY

The first abolition law in the United States was passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1780. This law, providing for gradual abolition, was due chiefly to the influence of the Quakers. The contest for complete abolition was carried on mainly by the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. During these years the numbers of slaves in the State were becoming fewer. According to the census of 1790 there were less than four thousand slaves in Pennsylvania. In 1820 there were two hundred and eleven, and in 1830 sixty-seven.—(American Museum, Vol. VI, 283.)

An address to the public, from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes, unlawfully held in bondage.

It is with peculiar satisfaction, we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavours have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty, which is diffusing itself throughout the world—and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labours—we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plans, and do, therefore, earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute

animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains, that bind his body do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflexion is suspended: he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct: because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless—perhaps worn out by extreme labour and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty, incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct—to advise—to qualify—those who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty—to promote in them habits of industry—to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances—and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life—these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution, without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for the purpose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed by order of the society,

B. FRANKLIN, *president*.

Philadelphia, 9th of Nov., 1789.

Plan for improving the condition of the free blacks, above mentioned:

The business, relative to free blacks, shall be transacted by a committee of twenty-four persons, annually elected by ballot, at the meeting of this society, in the month called April; and in order to perform the different services, with expedition, regularity, and energy, this committee shall resolve itself into the following sub-committees, viz.

I. A committee of inspection, who shall superintend the morals, general conduct, and ordinary situation of the free negroes, and afford them advice and instruction; protection from wrongs; and other friendly offices.

II. A committee of guardians, who shall place out children and young people with suitable persons, that they may (during a moderate time of apprenticeship, or servitude) learn some trade or other business of subsistence. The committee may effect this partly by a persuasive influence on parents and the persons concerned; and partly by co-operating with the laws, which are, or may be enacted for this, and similar purposes; in forming contracts on these occasions, the committee shall secure to the society, as far as may be practicable, the right of guardianship, over the persons so bound.

III. A committee of education, who shall superintend the school instruction of the children and youth of the free-blacks; they may either influence them to attend regularly the schools, already established in this city, or form others with this view; they shall, in either case, provide, that the pupils may receive such learning, as is necessary for their future situation in life; and especially a deep impression of the most important, and generally acknowledged moral and religious principles. They shall also procure and preserve a regular record of the marriages, births, and manumissions of all free blacks.

IV. A committee of employ, who shall endeavour to procure constant employment for those free negroes, who are

able to work: as the want of this would occasion poverty, idleness, and many vicious habits. This committee will, by sedulous enquiry, be enabled to find common labour for a great number; they will also provide, that such as indicate proper talents, may learn various trades, which may be done by prevailing upon them to bind themselves for such a term of years, as shall compensate their masters for the expense and trouble of instruction, and maintenance. The committee may attempt the institution of some useful and simple manufactures, which require but little skill, and also may assist, in commencing business, such as appear to be qualified for it.

The expense, incurred by the promotion of this plan, shall be defrayed by a fund to be formed by donations, or subscriptions, for these particular purposes, and to be kept separate from the other funds of this society.

40. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN AMERICA, 1788

Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville, who was one of the leaders in bringing on the French Revolution, visited America during the year 1788 for the purpose of observing the influence of liberty on man in society. His description of the country and portrayal of political and social conditions were prepared as letters and later were published in book form. The author stated in the preface: "I should even myself regret the time I spent in reducing this work to order, if I did not think that it might be useful and necessary in supporting our Revolution."—(J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America*, 42, 51 *passim*. Boston, 1797.)

With what pleasure did I contemplate this town, which first shook off the English yoke! which, for a long time, resisted all the seductions, all the menaces, all the horrors of a civil war! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose stores offer me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artisans, and the sailors! It was not the noisy vortex of Paris; it was not the

Description
of
Boston.

unquiet, eager mien of my countrymen; it was the simple, dignified air of men who are conscious of liberty, and who see in all men their brothers and their equals.

Everything in this street bears the marks of a town still in its infancy, but which, even in its infancy, enjoys a great prosperity. I thought myself in that Salentum, of which the lively pencil of Fenelon has left us so charming an image. But the prosperity of this new Salentum was not the work of one man, of a king or a minister; it is the fruit of liberty, that parent of industry. Everything is rapid, everything great, everything durable with her. A royal or ministerial prosperity, like a king or a minister, has only the duration of a moment. Boston is just rising from the devastations of war, and its commerce is flourishing; its manufactures, productions, arts, and sciences, offer a number of curious and interesting observations.

People of
Boston.

The manners of the people are not exactly the same as described by M. de Crèvecoeur. You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity, which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking; which forbade travelling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends; they are tender husbands and almost idolatrous parents and kind masters. Music which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolical art, begins to make part of their education. In some homes you hear the forte-piano. This art, it is true is still in its infancy; but the young novices who exercise it, are so gentle, so complaisant, and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the malady of perfection in this art! It is never attained, but at the expense of domestic virtues.

Neatness without luxury, is a characteristic feature of this purity of manners; and this neatness is seen everywhere at

Boston, in their dress, in their houses, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inside view of the church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man; calicoes and chintzes dress the women and children, without being spoiled by those gewgaws which whim and caprice have added to them among our women. Powder and pomatum never sully the heads of infants and children: I see them with pain, however, on the heads of men: they invoke the art of the hair-dresser; for, unhappily, this art has already crossed the seas.

But to crown my happiness, I saw none of those livid wretches, covered with rags, who in Europe soliciting our compassion at the foot of the altar, seem to bear testimony against Providence, our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, everything, bore the same simplicity. The sermon breathed the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

It is remarked, that, in countries chiefly devoted to commerce the sciences are not carried to any high degree. This remark applies to Boston. The university certainly contains men of worth and learning; but science is not diffused among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and absorbs all their speculations. Thus you find few estimable works, and few authors. The expense of the first volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of this town, is not yet covered; it is two years since it appeared. Sometime since was published, the history of the late troubles in Massachusetts; it is very well written. The author has found much difficulty to indemnify himself for the expense of printing it. Never has the whole of the precious history of New Hampshire, by Belknap, appeared, for want of encouragement.

They publish a magazine here, though the number of Gazettes is considerable. The multiplicity of Gazettes proves the activity of commerce, and the taste for politics and news; the merits and multiplicity of Literary and Political Magazines are signs of the culture of the sciences.

Commer-
cial inter-
ests domi-
nant.

News-
papers.

Houses
and
streets.

Let us not blame the Bostonians; they think of the usefulness before procuring to themselves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments; but they have neat and commodious churches, but they have good houses, but they have superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night while many ancient cities of Europe containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness. . . .

Social New
York.

If there is a town on the American continent where the English luxury displays its follies, it is New-York. You will find here the English fashions. In the dress of the women you will see the most brilliant silks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. Equipages are rare; but they are elegant. The men have more simplicity in their dress; they disdain gewgaws, but they take their revenge in the luxury of the table.

Luxury forms already, in this town, a class of men very dangerous in society—I mean bachelors. The expence of women causes matrimony to be dreaded by men.

I went from New-York the 25th of August, at six o'clock in the morning; and had to pass the North River before arriving to the stage. We passed the ferry in an open boat, and landed at Paulus Hook; they reckon two miles for this ferry, for which we pay sixpence, money of New-York.

Stage-
coach
travel.

The carriage is a kind of open waggon, hung with double curtains of leather and woollen, which you raise or let fall at pleasure: it is not well suspended. But the road was so fine, being sand and gravel, that we felt no inconvenience from that circumstance. The horses are good and go with rapidity. These carriages have four benches, and may contain twelve persons. The light baggage is put under the benches, and the trunks fixed on behind. A traveller who does not choose to take the stage, has a one-horse carriage by himself.

Let the Frenchmen who have travelled in these carriages, compare them to those used in France; to those heavy diligences, where eight or ten persons are stuffed in together; to those cabriolets in the environs of Paris, where two persons are closely confined, and deprived of air, driven by a dirty

driver who torments his miserable jades: and those carriages have to run over the finest roads, and yet make but one league an hour. If the Americans had such roads, with what rapidity would they travel? Since notwithstanding the inconvenience of the roads, they now run ninety-six miles in a day. Thus, with only a century and a half of existence, and opposed by a thousand obstacles, they are already superior to people who have been undisturbed in their progress for fifteen centuries.

You find in these stages, men of all professions. They succeed each other with rapidity. One who goes but twenty miles, yields his place to one who goes farther. The mother and daughter mount the stage to go ten miles to dine; another stage brings them back. At every instant, then, you are making new acquaintances. The frequency of the carriages, the facility of finding places in them, and the low and fixed price, invite the Americans to travel. These carriages have another advantage, they keep up the idea of equality. The member of Congress is placed by the side of the shoe maker who elected him: they fraternize together and converse with familiarity. You see no person here taking upon himself those important airs, which you too often meet with in France. . . .

This is the hospital so justly celebrated by M. de Creve-cœur, and which the humane Mr. Mazzei regards only as a curiosity scarcely worth seeing.

Hospital
for the in-
sane at
Philadel-
phia.

The building is fine, elegant, and well kept. I was charmed with the cleanliness in the halls of the sick, as well as in the particular chambers. I observed the bust of Franklin in the Library, and was told that this honor was rendered him as one of the principal founders of this institution. The library is not numerous; but well chosen. The hall on the first floor, is appropriated to sick men: there were six in it. About the same number of sick women were in a like hall on the second floor. These persons appeared by no means miserable; they seemed to be at home.

I went below to see the lunatics; there were about fifteen,

male and female. Each one has his cell, with a bed, a table, and a convenient window with grates. Stoves are fixed in the walls, to warm the cell in winter.

There were no mad persons among them. Most of the patients are the victims of religious melancholy, or of disappointed love. These unhappy persons are treated with the greatest tenderness; they are allowed to walk in the court; are constantly visited by two physicians. Dr. Rush has invented a kind of swing chair for their exercise.

What a difference between this treatment and the atrocious regulations to which we condemn such wretches in France! where they are rigorously confined, and their disorders scarcely ever fail to increase upon them.

The Turks, on the contrary, manifest a singular respect to persons insane: they are eager to administer food to them, to load them with caresses. Fools in that country are never known to be injurious; whereas, with us, they are dangerous, because they are unhappy.

The view of these persons affected me more than that of the sick. The last of human miseries, in my opinion, is confinement; and I cannot conceive how a sick person can be cured in prison, for confinement itself is a continual malady. The exercise of walking abroad, the view of the field, the murmur of the rivulets, and the singing of the birds, with the aid of vegetable diet, appear to me the best means of curing insanity. It is true, that this method requires too many attendants; and the impossibility of following it for the hospital of Philadelphia, makes it necessary to recur to locks and bars. But why do they place these cells beneath the ground floor, exposed to the unwholesome humidity of the earth? The enlightened and humane Dr. Rush told me, that he had endeavored for a long time in vain, to introduce a change in this particular; and that this hospital was founded at a time when little attention was thought necessary for the accommodation of fools. . . .

On leaving him, I went to see an experiment, near the Delaware, on a boat, the object of which is to ascend rivers

against the current. The inventor was Mr. Fitch who had found a company to support the expence. One of the most zealous associates is Mr. Thornton of whom I have spoken. This invention was disputed between Mr. Fitch and Mr. Rumsey of Virginia. However it be, the machine I saw, appears well executed, and well adapted to the design. The steam engine gives motion to three large oars of considerable force which were to give fifty strokes per minute.

I doubt not but, physically speaking, this machine may produce part of the effects which are expected from it: but I doubt its utility in commerce; for, notwithstanding the assurances of the undertakers, it must require many men to manage it, and much expence in repairing the damages occasioned by the violence and multiplicity of the friction. . . .

Philadelphia may be considered as the metropolis of the United States. It is certainly the finest town, and best built. It is the most wealthy, though not the most luxurious. You find here more men of information, more political and literary knowledge, and more learned societies. Many towns in America are more ancient; but Philadelphia has surpassed her elders.

Philadel-
phia the
metropolis.

At ten-o'clock in the evening all is tranquil in the streets; the profound silence which reigns there, is only interrupted by the voice of the watchmen, who are in small numbers and who form the only patrol. The streets are lighted by lamps, placed like those of London. . . .

41. THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT, 1789

(The American Museum, VI, 379-381.)

If temperance in all things be ornamental, and necessary for the support of our dignity and the advancement of human felicity—how emphatically important must it be in the use of intoxicating spirits? Here intemperance is fatal! An immoderate draught at once drowns the reason of man, and sinks him in the deplorable gulph of ignominy and contempt.

Argu-
ments for
temper-
ance.

Influence
of the Rev-
olution on
intemper-
ance.

Use of in-
toxicants
general
among la-
borers.

Those, who (notwithstanding they may be too lavish in the use of spirituous liquors) are not lost to every idea of decency and decorum, and sunk beneath the pride of man, the speculator conceives are open to conviction, and will cheerfully embrace those habits which shall appear to be the most conducive to their own and the community's prosperity. Times of public tumult and relaxation of government are most commonly times of dissipation. It proved so with America, in her late war with Great Britain. Before that commotion took place, the use of spirituous liquors was comparatively small to what it has been since. During the suspension of law, money being plenty, and debtors not being compelled to pay their debts, it became a too predominant practice, to waste large sums in the purchase and expenditure of rum and other spirits. Idleness and a too free use of the cup and can, those sister habits, infected the community at large. At the close of the war, when the circumstances of our country demanded industry and economy, it was difficult to return to our pristine simplicity of manners, and temperance of life, in the pursuit of our private or domestic affairs. The husbandman could not hire labourers to cultivate his lands, without supplying them with a quantity of inflammatory liquors, almost equal in value to the amount of their services. So general was the custom, and so fashionable the practice, that the labourer claimed it as his right; and if he could not receive so much rum or toddy as would almost disable him from service, he would quit the field of his employer, and leave his harvest to be wasted on the ground. This pernicious fashion was not confined to the labourers in the field; the mechanics, if possible, exceeded them in extravagance of these kinds of demands. Business was consequently ill performed and extravagantly paid for. Our taverns were daily thronged with swarms of our citizens, who there wasted their property, injured their constitutions and corrupted their morals. In addition to all this, every man was obliged to keep a kind of grog shop in his own house, for his neighbours, acquaintances and hangers on, or be es-

teemed a niggard. Even among the most indigent, those who could but scantily provide bread for their children, it was thought ill usage, if they did not hand out their bottles to their thirsty visitors. A barrel of rum at that time would in many families last but little longer than a gallon would have done before the war. These extravagant habits so far exceeded the ability of the people, that many fell a sacrifice to their folly, and involved themselves and families in ruin and wretchedness. Private debts could not be discharged, nor could public requisitions be complied with. The consequence was natural—an universal complaint of hard times—of cruel creditors—or of oppression in rulers. The times were truly hard, and so will they ever be when intemperance prevails—when the people prefer the dissipation of a tavern to the cultivation of their fields. But happily for the community, these habits seem now to be fast growing into disrepute; and temperance, economy, and industry seem to be esteemed objects of importance: and experience will probably soon convince us, that we can labour as well, and enjoy our health better, without inflammatory spirits than with them. Probably not a quarter part so much rum has been drank in this part of the country the last year, as was done in the space of a year, at the close of the war. Some of our principal retailers have not, if we can believe their assertions, sold so many pints of rum the last year as they did gallons the year before; and then the quantity was much diminished from that which was sold a few years earlier. Our taverns, too, are generally still and quiet, and rarely do we find people of the vicinity resorting to them, but on business, or some public occasion. Many of our principal farmers, in different parts of the country, have nobly broke through the pernicious custom of treating their labourers with rum; and will not employ those who will not serve them without spirituous liquors. And they have found their account in it the present year—for it has been very observable in the course of the past summer, that those who have hired without supplying with spirits, have had the best workmen and plenty of them,

Improved
conditions.

and that their work has been done the most neatly and with the greatest dispatch.

The mechanics, also, in many places and especially the most reputable of them, have almost forsaken their cups. And men of business of all kinds, appear to be convinced that they can conduct their affairs better without spirituous liquors than with them. In this way, a great saving has been made the last year by the citizens in general: and let any one judge if any inconveniences have resulted from these savings.

Have not people been as healthy, strong and robust as when they drank ten times as much as they have done this year? Were our lands better cultivated then, than they are now? It was a common observation, a few years ago, that a man lost nothing by giving rum to his labourers, for they would do as much more labour as to pay for it. But if a man is not able to carry on business of any kind, whatever, without rum, he is unfit to be employed. When one has contracted a habit of any kind, it is difficult to quit it. Hence we frequently hear workmen say, they cannot work without rum. Why? because they have become habituated to the destructive and pernicious use of it. It is no symptom that a man ought not to live without spirituous liquors, because he says that he cannot; but the reverse. His hankering after them is conclusive evidence that he has used them too freely already. And it is quite time for such a one, to reflect seriously on the importance of his breaking the habit: he would do well to consider whether he be not on the road to intemperance—and if he is not foolishly wasting his earnings; now is the only time for such a one to deliberate; for if a habit of this kind is ever to be checked, it must be done before it be deeply rooted; failure of the principal crops of the earth, we think it peculiarly the duty of every good citizen, to unite his efforts, to reform a practice which leads so many to poverty, distress and ruin.

Whereupon we do hereby associate, and mutually agree, that hereafter we will carry on our business without the use

of distilled spirits, as an article of refreshment, either for ourselves or those whom we employ; and that instead thereof, we will serve our workmen with wholesome food, and the common simple drinks of our own production.—It will not answer for him to wait until he is sensible that he is actually injured; for many a man has become a complete sot, before he has thought himself in any degree intemperate.

Association of the principal inhabitants of Litchfield, in Connecticut, for discouraging the use of spirituous liquors. June, 1789.

So many are the avenues leading to human misery, that it is impossible to guard them all. Such evils, as are produced by our own folly and weakness, are within our power to avoid. The immoderate use, which the people of this state make of distilled spirits, is undoubtedly an evil of this kind. It is obvious to every person of the smallest observation, that, from this pernicious practice, follows a train of evils, difficult to be enumerated. The morals are corrupted, property is exhausted, and health destroyed. And it is most sincerely to be regretted, that, from a mistaken idea, that distilled spirits are necessary to labouring men, to counteract the influence of heat and give relief from severe fatigue, a most valuable class of citizens have been led to contract a habit of such dangerous tendency. Hence arises the inability to pay public taxes, to discharge private debts, and to support and educate families. . . .

42. LIFE AT PRINCETON AND ON A VIRGINIA PLANTATION, 1767-1774

Philip Vickers Fithian was a student at Princeton College, 1770-2 and at the school of theology 1772-3. He then went to Virginia for a year as tutor in the family of Robert Carter. His letters give an excellent portrayal of the life of that time.—(Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 1767-74. Princeton, N. J., 1900. With permission of Princeton University Library.)

PRINCETON, Novem:

30th Anno 1770.

VERY DEAR FATHER,

Admission
to Prince-
ton.

Altho' I am very busy seeing I begun to study three weeks later than the rest of our Class, yet I think it my Duty to give you Notice of my Admission to this flourishing Seminary of Learning, which is another grand Step towards the Summit of my Wishes. . . .

Mr. Hunter and myself, were admitted into the junior-Class on the twenty-second day of November, after a previous Examination by the President, Tutors, and some residing Graduates; which was about three Weeks after the College-Orders began. . . .

Rules for
students.

Every Student must rise in the morning, at farthest by half an hour after five; the grammar Schollars being most of them small, and lodging also in Town at some Distance from the College, are, in Winter, excused from attending morning Prayrs.

The Bell rings at five, after which there is an Intermission of half an hour, that everyone may have time to dress, at the end of which it rings again, and Prayrs begin; And lest any should plead that he did not hear the Bell, the Servant who rings, goes to every Door and beats till he wakens the Boys, which leaves them without Excuse. . . .

After morning Prayrs, we can, now in the Winter, study an hour by candle Light every morning.

We breakfast at eight; from Eight to nine, is time of our own, to play or exercise.

At nine the Bell rings for Recitation, after which we study till one when the Bell rings for Dinner— . . .

After dinner till three we have Liberty to go out at Pleasure. From three til' five we study, when the Bell rings for evening Prays.

We sup at seven; At nine the Bell rings for study; And a Tutor goes through College, to see that every Student is in his own room; if he finds that any are absent, or more in any Room than belong there, he notes them down and the day following calls them to an Account.

After nine any may go to bed, but to go before is reproachful.

No Student is allowed, on any pretence, Sickness only excepted, to be absent on Sunday, from public Worship: We have two Sermons every Sabbath: One at eleven in the morning, in the Church; and the other at three in the Afternoon, in the College Hall. I am indeed much pleased with Dr. Witherspoon and think his Sermons almost inimitable.

We rise on Sabbath mornings and have Prays as usual, . . .

Number of
students.

There are upwards of an hundred now in College including the grammar Scholars: The present Senior Class consists of ten: the Junior of twenty-eight: the Sophomore of twenty-five: And the Freshman of eighteen: In the School there are about twenty-five.

I am, through divine goodness, very well, and more reconciled to rising in the Morning so early than at first. . . .

From, Sir, your dutiful Son.

P. FITHIAN.

Written at Princeton

Jan. 13. Anno 1772.

VERY DEAR, AND MUCH RESPECTED FATHER,

Through the distinguished Kindness of Heaven, I am in good Health, and have much Cause to be delighted with my Lot. I would not change my condition, nor give up the Prospect I have before me, on any Terms almost whatever.

I am not much hurried this Winter with my Studies; but

I am trying to advance myself in an acquaintance with my fellow-Creatures; and with the Labours of the "Mighty Dead."

College
discipline.

I am sorry that I may inform you, that two of our Members were expelled from the College yesterday; not from Drunkenness, nor Fighting, not for Swearing, nor Sabbath-Breaking; But, they were sent from this Seminary, where the greatest Pains and Care are taken to cultivate and encourage Decency, and Honesty, and Honour, for stealing Hens! Shameful, mean, unmanly Conduct!

If a Person were to judge of the generality of Students by the Conduct of such earthborn insatiate Helluo's; or by the detested Character of wicked Individuals, (which is generally soonest and most extensively propagated, and known abroad) how terrible an Idea must he have! . . .

P. FITHIAN.

Decemr. 1st. 1773.

REV'D SIR. (Rev. Enoch Green).

A Virginia
tutor.

. . . I set out from home the 20th. of Octr. and arrived at the Hon: Robert Carters, of Nominy, in Westmoreland County, the 28th. I began to teach his children the first of November. He has two sons, and one nephew; the oldest son is turned of seventeen, and is reading Salust and the Greek grammar; the others are about fourteen, and in English grammar, and arithmetic. He has besides, five daughters which I am to teach english, the eldest is turned of fifteen and is reading the spectator; she is employed two days in every week in learning to play the Forte-Piano, and Harpsichord—the others are smaller and learning to read and spell. Mr. Carter is one of the Councillors in the general court at Williamsburg, and is possesst of as great, perhaps the clearest fortune according to the estimation of people here, of any man in Virginia. He seems to be a good scholar, even in classical learning, and is a remarkable one in English grammar; and notwithstanding his rank, which in general seems to countenance indulgence to children, both himself and Mrs.

A Virginia
planter.

Carter have a manner of instructing and dealing with children far superior, I may say it with confidence, to any I have ever seen, in any place, or in any family. They keep them in perfect subjection to themselves, and never pass over an occasion of reproof; and I blush for many of my acquaintances when I say that the children are more kind and complaisant to the servants who constantly attend them than we are to our superiors in age and condition. Mr. Carter has an overgrown library of Books of which he allows me the free use. It consists of a general collection of law books, all the Latin and Greek Classicks, vast number of books on Divinity chiefly by writers who are of the established Religion; he has the works of almost all the late famous writers, as Locke, Addison, Young, Pope, Swift, Dryden etc. in Short, Sir, to speak moderately, he has more than eight times your number—His eldest Son, who seems to be a Boy of genius and application is to be sent to Cambridge University, but I believe will go through a course either in Philadelphia or Princeton College first. As to what is said concerning Virginia that it is difficult to avoid being corrupted with the manners of the people, I believe it is founded wholly in a mistaken notion that persons must, when here frequent all promiscuous assemblies; but this is so far from truth that anyone who does practice it, tho' he is accused of no crime, loses at once his character; so that either the manners have been lately changed, or the report is false, for he seems now to me best esteemed and most applauded who attends to his business, whatever it be, with the greatest diligence. . . .

Friday 18, 1774.

Mr. Carter now possesses 60,000 acres of Land, and about 600 Negroes—But his Estate is much divided, and lies in almost every county in this Colony; He has Lands in the Neighbourhood of Williamsburg, and an elegant and Spacious House in that City—He owns a great part of the well known Iron-works near Baltimore in Maryland—And he has one or more considerable Farms not far from Anapolis.

A Virginia estate.

. . . Out of these Lands, which are situated so remote from each other in various parts of these two large Provinces, Virginia and Maryland, Mr. Carter has chosen for the place of his habitation a high spot of ground in Westmoreland County at the Head of the Navigation of the River Nomini, where he has erected a large elegant House, at a vast expence, which commonly goes by the name of Nomini-Hall. This House is built with Brick, but the bricks have been covered with strong lime mortar; so that the building is now perfectly white; it is seventy-six Feet long from East to West; and forty-four wide from North to South, two Stories high;

. . . The north side I think is the most beautiful of all; In the upper Story is a Row of seven Windows with eighteen lights apiece; and below six windows, with the like number of lights; besides a large Portico in the middle, at the sides of which are two windows each with eighteen Lights.—At the west end are no Windows—The number of Lights in all is five hundred, and forty nine— . . . As this House is large, and stands on a high piece of Land it may be seen a considerable distance; I have seen it at the Distance of six miles—

At equal Distances from each corner of this Building stand four other considerable Houses, which I shall next a little describe. First, at the North-East corner, and at 100 yards Distance stands the School House; at the North-West corner, and at the same Distance stands the stable; at the South-West corner, and at the same Distance stands the Coach-House; and lastly, at the South-East corner, and at an equal distance stands the Work-House. These four Houses are the corner of a Square of which the Great-House is the center—

. . . Due East of the Great House are two Rows of tall, flourishing, beautiful, Poplars, beginning on a Line drawn from the school to the Wash-House; these Rows are something wider than the House, and are about 300 yards long, at the Eastermost end of which is the great Road leading through Westmoreland to Richmond. These Rows of Poplars form an extremely pleasant avenue, and at the Road,

through them, the House appears most romantic, at the same time that it is truly elegant—The area of the Triangle made by the Wash-House, Stable, and School-House is perfectly level, and designed for a bowling-green, laid out in rectangular walks which are paved with Brick, and covered over with burnt Oyster-Shells. In the other Triangle, made by the Wash-House, Stable, and Coach-House is the Kitchen, a well-built House, as large as the School-House; Bake-House; Dairy; Store-House and several other small Houses; all which stand due West, and at a small distance from the great House, and form a little handsome Street. These Buildings stand about a quarter of a Mile from a Fork in the River Nomini, one Branch of which runs on the East of us, on which are two mills; one of them belongs to Mr. Turburville the other to Mr. Washington (John Augustine), both within a mile—another branch of the River runs on the West of us on which and at a small distance above the House stands Mr. Carters merchant mill, . . . to go to the mill from the House we descend. I imagine about an 100 feet: the Dam is so broad that two carriages may pass conveniently on it; and the pond from twelve to Eighteen Foot water—At the fork Mr. Carter has a granary, where he lands his Wheat for the Mill, Iron from the Works etc.— . . .

Monday November 1st. 1773.

We began School—The School consists of eight—Two of Mr. Carter's sons—One Nephew—and five Daughters—The eldest Son is reading Salust: Gramatical Exercises, and latin Grammar—The Second Son is reading english Grammar and Reading English: Writing and Cyphering in Subtraction—The Nephew is Reading and Writing as above; and Ciphering in Reduction—The eldest Daughter is reading the Spec-tator; Writing; and beginning to Cypher—the second is reading next out of the Spelling-Book, and beginning to write—The next is reading in the Spelling-Book—the fourth is Spelling in the beginning of the Spelling-Book—And the last is beginning her letters. . . .

A plan-
tation
school.

Thursday 4.

Busy in School—To day the two eldest daughters, and second son attended the Dancing School. . . .

Wednesday 10.

Busy in School—The eldest Daughter taken off by her teacher in Music: Mr. Stadley who is learning her to play the Forte-piano.

Thursday 25.

Rode this morning to Richmond Court-House, where two Horses run for a purse of 500 Pounds: besides small Betts almost innumerable. . . .

Thursday 7.

Mr. Stadley Miss Priscilla's music master arrived this morning—He performed several pieces on the Violin. . . .

Fryday 10.

Miss Nancy is beginning on the Guitar. Ben finished reading Salusts Catiline Conspiracy.

Sunday 12.

Rode to Nominy-Church, parson Smith preached 15 minutes—Advertisement at the church door dated Sunday December 12th. Pork to be sold to-morrow at 20/ per Hundred.—

Monday 13.

. . . Mr. Carter is practising this evening on the Guittar. He begins with the Trumpet Minuet. He has a good Ear for Music; a vastly delicate Taste: and keeps good Instruments, he has here at Home a Harpischord, Forte-Piano, Harmonica, Guittar and German Flutes, and at Williamsburg, has a good organ, he himself also is indefatigable in the Practice. . . .

Sunday 3.

. . . This being Easter-Sunday, all the Parish seemed to meet together High, Low, black, white all come out— . . . After Sermon I rode to Mr. Turburville's. There dined with him, Ladies Mrs. Carter, and Mrs. George Turburville: Gentlemen, Colonel Carter, Squire-Lee, Mr. Cunningham, and Mr. Jennings, Merchants; Mr. George Lee and Ben Carter and myself—We had an elegant dinner; Beef and greens; roast-Pig; fine boil'd Rock-fish, Pudding, Cheese etc.—Drink: good Porter-Beer, Cyder, Rum, and Brandy Toddy. The Virginians are so kind one can scarce know how to dispense with or indeed accept their kindness shown in such a variety of instances.—

Virginia
hospital-
ity.

. . . The country begins to put on her Flowery Garment, and appear in gait—The apricots are in their fullest Bloom; Peaches also, and Plumbs, and several sorts of Cherries are blossoming; as I look from my window and see groves of Peach Trees on the Banks of Nomini (for the orchards here are very large) and other Fruit trees in Blossom. . . .

Fruit-
growing.

After supper I had a long conversation with Mrs. Carter concerning negroes in Virginia, and find that she esteems their value at no higher rate than I do. We both concluded, (I am pretty certain that the conclusion is just) that if in Mr. Carter's, or in any Gentlemans Estate, all the Negroes should be sold, and the money put to Interest in safe hands, and let the lands which these Negroes now work be wholly uncultivated, the bare Interest of the price of the Negroes would be a much greater yearly income than what is now received from their working the Lands, making no allowance at all for the trouble and risk of the masters as to the Crops, and Negroes.—How much greater then must be the value of an estate here if these poor enslaved Africans were all in their native desired Country, and in their Room industrious Tenants, who being born in freedom, by a laudable care, would not only enrich their Landlords, but would raise a hardy Offspring to be the Strength and the honour of the Colony. . . .

The slav-
ery prob-
lem.

43. TREATMENT OF PRISONERS, 1785

Benjamin Harrison was governor of Virginia, 1783-6. The following order for the treatment of prisoners was taken from his Letter Book, pp. 452, 453. State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

In Council March 28, 1785.

SIR:

You are to take under your care the prisoners Francis Wilson, Bartholomew Taylor, Christopher Clarke, Thomas Humphries, and Philip Miles from the hands of William Rose, Gaoler and to cause them to labor upon such streets and ways of communication in the City of Richmond as the Directors of the Public buildings shall point out to you from time to time. The said Davis for five years and all the others for three years. You are to observe such a Degree of humanity towards these people as their condition will permit in everything that relates to them. You will take the necessary measures to prevent escapes in order to do this you are to cause them to wear such irons as are absolutely necessary for that purpose. Particular care must be taken that they have plenty of wholesome Food and that their Clothes be warm and comfortable—two Duffele Blankets must be had for each man, and they are to lodge of nights in the public Jail.

You are to take care that their cloaths and lodging be kept clean and that their labor be confined to the usual hours and good weather. In case of sickness you are to apply to Doctor Fonshee for medical assistance. From the state of confinement in which the people have remained lately, it is necessary for you to be careful that they avoid such a Degree of exposure and labor, as may be safely practiced by persons who have not been confined. Their progress to a full share of labor must be gradual.—You are to see that they be not restrained from attending divine worship and attend them accordingly. You are to apply to the Directors of the public buildings for food for the Laborers—Clothes will be

furnished by Colo. Meriwether—and as a full compensation for your services herein you are to be allowed one hundred pounds per annum to be paid quarterly out of the Contingent Fund.

I am etc.

B. H.

44. A TRIP TO MT. VERNON AND NORTH CAROLINA

During the period of the Revolution and the first third of the nineteenth century Elkanah Watson, a noted traveler in both Europe and America recorded his observations on the men he had met and incidents connected with his travels. He was a careful observer, and was especially interested in the construction of canals and the development of agriculture.—(Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 262–264 *passim*. 1856.)

I had feasted my imagination for several days in the near prospect of a visit to Mount Vernon, the seat of Washington. No pilgrim ever approached Mecca with greater enthusiasm. I arrived there in the afternoon of January 23d, '85. I was the bearer of the letter from Gen. Green, with another from Col. Fitzgerald, one of the former aids of Washington, and also the books from Granville Sharp. Although assured that these credentials would secure me a respectful reception, I trembled with awe as I came into the presence of this great man. I found him at table with Mrs. Washington and his private family, and was received in the native dignity and with that urbanity so peculiarly combined in the character of a soldier and eminent private gentleman. He soon put me at ease by unbending in a free and affable conversation.

Meeting
with
Washing-
ton.

The cautious reserve which wisdom and policy dictated whilst engaged in rearing the glorious fabric of our independence, was evidently the result of consummate prudence, and not characteristic of his nature. Although I had frequently seen him in the progress of the revolution and had corresponded with him from France in '81, and '82, this was the first occasion on which I had contemplated him in his private relations. I observed a peculiarity in his smile, which

seemed to illuminate his eye; his whole countenance beamed with intelligence, while it commanded confidence and respect. The gentleman who had accompanied me from Alexandria, left in the evening, and I remained alone in the enjoyment of the society of Washington, for two of the richest days of my life. I saw him reaping the reward of his illustrious deeds, in the quiet shade of his beloved retirement. He was at the matured age of fifty-three. Alexander and Caesar both died before they had reached that period of life, and both had immortalized their names. How much stronger and nobler the claims of Washington to immortality! In the impulses of mad and selfish ambition, they acquired fame by wading to the conquest of the world through seas of blood. Washington, on the contrary, was parsimonious of the blood of his countrymen, and stood forth, the pure and virtuous champion of their rights, and formed for them (not himself) a mighty empire.

Personal-
ity of
Washing-
ton.

To have communed with such a man in the bosom of his family, I shall always regard as one of the highest privileges of my life. I found him kind, and benignant in the domestic circle, beloved and revered by all around him; agreeably social without ostentation; delighting in anecdote and adventures without assumption; his domestic arrangements harmonious and systematic. His servants seemed to watch his eye, and to anticipate his every wish; hence a look was equivalent to a command. His servant Billy, the faithful companion of his military career, was always at his side. Smiling content animated and beamed on every countenance in his presence.

The first evening I spent under the wing of his hospitality, we sat a full hour at table by ourselves without the least interruption, after the family had retired. I was extremely oppressed by a severe cold and excessive coughing, contracted by the exposure of a harsh winter journey. He pressed me to use some remedies, but I declined doing so. As usual after retiring, my coughing increased. When some time had elapsed, the door of my room was gently opened, and on

drawing my bed curtains, to my utter astonishment, I beheld Washington himself standing at my bedside, with a bowl of hot tea in his hand. I was mortified and distressed beyond measure. This little incident occurring in common life with an ordinary man, would not have been noticed; but as a trait of the benevolence and private virtue of Washington deserves to be recorded.

He modestly waived all allusions to the events, in which he had acted so glorious and conspicuous a part. Much of his conversation had reference to the interior country, and to the opening of the navigation of the Potomac, by canals and locks, at the Seneca, the Great and Little Falls. His mind seemed to be deeply absorbed by that object, then in earnest contemplation. He allowed me to take minutes from his former journals on this subject, of which the following is a partial summary.

"The stock of the company is divided into five hundred shares at £50 sterling each. The canal company has been incorporated by both Maryland and Virginia." (Washington had accepted the Presidency). "The preliminary preparations are in full train, to commence operations in the ensuing Spring, not only to remove the obstacles in the Potomac to a boat navigation from Georgetown to Fort Cumberland a distance of one hundred and ninety miles, but to the ultimate construction of a canal to Lake Erie, which is intended not only to give a direction of the fur trade from Detroit to Alexandria, but to attract the eventual trade of the country north of the Ohio which now slumbers in a state of nature." This scheme was worthy the comprehensive mind of Washington.

To demonstrate the practicability and the policy of diverting the trade of the immense interior world yet unexplored to Atlantic cities, especially in view of the idea that the Mississippi would be opened by Spain was his constant and favorite theme. . . .

Since my travels in 1779, I had been deeply and constantly impressed with the importance of constructing canals

Washington's interest in internal improvements.

to connect the various waters of America. This conviction was confirmed by the examination of numerous canals in Europe, and travelling extensively on several of them. Hearing little else for two days from the persuasive tongue of this great man, I confess completely infected me with the canal mania, and enkindled all my enthusiasm. . . .

North
Carolina
and the
Federal
Constitu-
tion.

During this period of my residence in North Carolina, the state was strongly convulsed by the agitation of the question of adopting the federal constitution. I embarked with great zeal and ardor, in advocating its adoption, personally and by numerous contributions to the press, in Virginia and North Carolina. A baptist preacher named B——, was a candidate for the State convention, which was to decide, in that State, the great question of acceding to or rejecting the proposed Constitution. B—— was a prominent leader of the opposition, and with him I had been engaged in many warm personal discussions and in public correspondence.

The week previous to the election, I was riding in company with Major Murfee, who has been already introduced to the reader, and a Dr. Garvey, a warm hearted and energetic Irishman, several miles in the interior from Winton, where we noticed a paper pasted upon a tree, which read as follows: "Notice!—On Wednesday next, at three o'clock, all persons desirous of hearing the new Constitution explained, by Elder B——t, are requested to attend his church in the Woodlands, 17th March 1788." The time appointed was only two days previous to the election.

We felt indignant, at what we deemed an insidious attempt to deceive the community; and determined to be present in order to counteract his movement. On our arrival we found a horse hitched to every tree about the church, and the interior of the building crowded. We pressed our way into seats a little distance from the pulpit. B——t had been some time at his nefarious work, explaining the Constitution to suit his unhallowed purposes. He frequently cast a suspicious and disconcerted eye upon our pew. He then began to explain the object of the ten miles square, as the con-

templated seat of the government. "This, my friends," said the preacher, "will be walled in or fortified. Here an army of 50,000, or, perhaps 100,000, will be finally embodied, and will sally forth, and enslave the people, who will be gradually disarmed." This absurd assumption set our blood in fermentation, strongly excited already in party feeling. We consulted a moment, and agreed to possess ourselves of the seat directly under the pulpit, and make an effort to discuss the subject, or break up the meeting. We arose together, Garvey with the Constitution in his hand, supported by Murfee on his right, and myself on his left. Garvey turned towards B——t, and said, in a loud voice:—

"Sir, as to the ten miles square, you are"—here he was interrupted by a general movement and buzz, which instantly swelled into a perfect uproar. At this crisis we were in a most critical situation, and only saved from violence by the personal popularity of Murfee, who was universally beloved. We were glad to pass out with the torrent, gain our horses, and be off. We however attained our object—the meeting was dissolved.

The next day Garvey and myself planned and executed a caricature; and as it was a new exhibition among the people, we hoped it would have a good effect at the polls. A clergyman was represented in a pulpit, dressed in his bands, with a label proceeding from his mouth having this inscription:—"And lo, he brayeth!" This we committed to some resolute fellows, with instructions to post it up at the door of the courthouse, on the opening of the polls; they engaged to defend and protect it. Some of B——t's friends stung to the quick by the sarcasm, attempted to pull it down. A general battle ensued. This obstructed as we desired, the voting. Candles were lighted in the courthouse; these were extinguished in the melee and both parties in great confusion were left in the dark, literally as well as politically. I embraced the opportunity of taking *French leave*. B——t gained the election, to our great annoyance, and the Constitution was rejected for that year by North-Carolina.

CHAPTER XIV

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

45. INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

(David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution*, 344, 346 *passim*. London, 1793.)

Washington and the people.

Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the new constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. The people, as well anti-federalists as federalists, (for by these names the parties for and against the new constitution were called) unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the most proper person to be their first President. Perhaps there was not a well-informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Washington himself only excepted) who was not anxious that he should be called to the executive administration of the proposed new plan of government. Unambitious of further honors, he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all further public service; but his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the highest station in its gift. That honest zeal for the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the service of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great business of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm in Virginia, he set out soon after for New York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to see the Man of the people. Escorts of militia, and of gentlemen of the first

character and station, attended him from State to State, and he was everywhere received with the highest honors which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of almost every place of consequence through which he passed, to all of which he returned such modest, unassuming answers as were in every respect suitable to his situation. So great were the honors with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Of the numerous addresses which were presented on this occasion, one subscribed by Dennis Ramsay, the mayor of Alexandria, in the name of the people of that city, who were the neighbors of Mr. Washington, was particularly and universally admired. It was in the following words:

“To George Washington, Esq., President of the United States, etc.

“Again your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

“Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honor which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbors and friends now address you; themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its

protector; our poor their benefactor; and the interior navigation of the Potomac (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter,

“Farewell!

“Farewell! . . . Go! and make a grateful people happy; a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

“To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore you to us again, the best of men, and the most beloved fellow citizen!”

To this Mr. Washington returned the following answer:

“GENTLEMEN,

“Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice; the opinion of my friends; communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as from America; the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form; and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other; have induced an acceptance. Those who knew me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are from your situation in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, ‘never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature.’ For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

“I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public

declarations, in order to convince you, Gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests; the whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bid adieu to my domestic connections, this tender proof of your friendships is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

"All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who on a former occasion hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation: perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbors, farewell!"

Gray's-*Bridge* over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches composed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each side of the bridge was a laurel shrubbery. As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a youth ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of 20,000 citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through these he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and respectable body of the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleasures of the day were succeeded by a handsome display of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the

*Journey
to Phila-
delphia.*

inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, December 26th, 1776. On the sweep of the arch beneath was this inscription, "The defender of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters." On the north side were ranged a number of young girls dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode:

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore:
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at thee the fatal blow.
Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
These thy conquering arm did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His situation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had in Dec. 1776 felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing-place to the house which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant proces-

sion of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of citizens. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States." On this occasion he was wholly clothed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the President and people of the United States. About noon, a procession, followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the President's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance from the Hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the Vice-President, Mr. John Adams, passed into the Senate Chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-Street, and before them, and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New-York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The Chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of 13 guns, and by the effusions of shouts, from near 10,000 grateful and affectionate hearts. The President bowed most respectfully to the people, and the air resounded again with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate Chamber, where he made the following speech to both houses:

The inauguration.

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

Inaugural address.

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the

notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. . . . On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated. . . .

“To the preceeding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives; it concerns myself, and will, therefore, be as brief as possible.

“When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required, that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From

this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

“Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together—I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparal- leled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his Divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.”

The President and Congress then attended on divine service.

In the evening a very ingenious and splendid shew of fireworks was exhibited. Betwixt the fort and the bowling green stood conspicuous, a superb and brilliant transparent painting, in the center of which was the portrait of the President, represented under the emblem of fortitude; on his right hand was Justice, representing the Senate of the United States; and on his left, Wisdom, representing the House of Representatives.

Other features of the inauguration.

This memorable day completed the organization of the new constitution. By this establishment the rising generation will have an opportunity of observing the result of an experiment in politics, which before has never been fairly made. The experience of former ages has given many mel-

ancholy proofs, that the popular governments have seldom answered in practice to the theories and warm wishes of their admirers. The present inhabitants of independent America now have an opportunity to wipe off this aspersion, to assert the dignity of human nature, and the capacity of mankind for self-government. . . .

46. FORMS AND CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INAUGURATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

Senator William Maclay, of Pennsylvania, was an ardent Anti-Federalist. During the two years he was in the Senate, 1789-91, he kept a journal, which was not intended for publication. At times he was unduly severe in his criticisms of political opponents. Descriptions of debates in the Senate and of the forms and ceremonies of that period are given in a most graphic manner.—(William Maclay, *Journal* (edited by Edgar S. Maclay), 7, 69, 208 *passim*. With permission of D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1890.)

How is the President to be received?

30th April, (1789) Thursday.—This is a great, important day. Goddess of etiquette, assist me while I describe it. The Senate stood adjourned to half after eleven o'clock. About ten dressed in my best clothes; went for Mr. Morris' lodgings, but met his son, who told me that his father would not be in town until Saturday. Turned into the Hall. The crowd already great. The Senate met. The Vice-President rose in the most solemn manner. . . . "Gentlemen, I wish for the direction of the Senate. The President will, I suppose, address the Congress. How shall I behave? How shall we receive it? Shall it be standing or sitting?"

Here followed a considerable deal of talk from him which I could make nothing of. Mr. Lee began with the House of Commons (as is usual with him), then the House of Lords; then the King, and then back again. The result of his information was, that the Lords sat, and the Commons stood, on the delivery of the King's speech. Mr. Izard got up and told how often he had been in the House of Parliament. He said a great deal of what he had seen there. (He) made,

however, this sagacious discovery, that the Commons stood because they had no seats to sit on, being arrived at the bar of the House of Lords. It was discovered after some time that the King sat, too, and had his robes and crown on.

Mr. Adams got up again, and said he had been very often, indeed, at the Parliament on those occasions, but there was always such a crowd, and ladies along, he could not say how it was. Mr. Carrol got up to declare that he thought it of no consequence, how it was in Great Britain—they were no rule to us, etc. But all at once the Secretary, who had been out, whispered to the Chair that the Clerk from the Representatives was at the door with a communication. Gentlemen of the Senate, how shall he be received? A silly kind of resolution of the committee on that business had been laid on the table some days ago. The amount of it was, that each House should communicate to the other what and how they chose; it concluded, however, something in this way; that everything should be done with all the *propriety* that was proper. The question was, Shall this be adopted, that we may know how to receive the Clerk? It was objected; this will throw no light on the subject; it will leave you where you are. Mr. Lee brought the House of Commons before us again. He reprobated the rule; declared that the Clerk should not come within the bar of the House; that the proper mode was for the Sergeant-at-Arms, with the mace on his shoulder, to meet the Clerk at the door and receive his communication; we are not, however, provided for this ceremonious way of doing business, having neither mace nor Sergeant, nor Masters in Chancery, who carry down bills from the English Lords.

Mr. Izard got up and labored unintelligibly to show the great distinction between a communication and a delivery of a thing; but he was not minded. Mr. Ellsworth showed plainly enough that if the Clerk was not permitted to deliver the communication, the Speaker might as well send it enclosed. Repeated accounts came (that) the Speaker and Representatives were at the door. Confusion ensued; the

members left their seats: Mr. Reed rose and called the attention of the Senate to the neglect that had been shown to Mr. Thomson, late Secretary. Mr. Lee rose to answer him; but I could not hear one word he said. The Speaker was introduced, followed by the Representatives. Here we sat an hour and ten minutes before the President arrived—this delay was owing to Lee, Izard, and Dalton, who had stayed with us until the Speaker came in, instead of going to attend the President. The President advanced between the Senate and Representatives, bowing to each. He was placed in the chair by the Vice-President; the Senate, with their President, on the right, the Speaker and Representatives on his left. The Vice-President rose, and addressed a short sentence to him. The import of it was that he should now take the oath of office as President. He seemed to have forgot half of what he was to say, for he made a dead pause and stood for some time, to appearance, in a vacant mood. He finished with a formal bow, and the President was conducted out of the middle window into the gallery, and the oath was administered by the Chancellor. Notice that the business was done was communicated to the crowd by the proclamation, etc., who gave three cheers, and repeated it on the President's bowing to them.

As the company returned into the Chamber, the President took the chair and the Senate and Representatives, their seats. He rose and all rose, and addressed them. This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, though it must be supposed he had often read it before. He put part of the fingers of his left hand into the side of what I think the tailors call the fall of the breeches, 'changing the paper into his left [right] hand. After some time he then did the same with some of the fingers of his right hand. When he came to the words *all the world*, he made a flourish with his right hand which left rather an ungainly impression. I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the

Washington received by the Senate.

Washington takes the oath of office.

Inaugural address.

dancing masters, and that this first of men had read off his address in the plainest manner, without ever taking his eyes from the paper; for I felt hurt that he was not first in everything. He was dressed in deep brown, with metal buttons, with an eagle on them, white stockings, a bag, and sword.

From the hall there was a grand procession to St. Paul's Church, where prayers were said by the Bishop. The procession was well conducted and without accident, as far as I have heard. The militia were all under arms, lined the street near the church, made a good figure, and behaved well.

Procession
to Saint
Paul's
Church.

The Senate returned to their chamber after service, formed, and took up the address. Our Vice-President called it his *most gracious speech*. I cannot approve of this. A committee was appointed on it—Johnson, Carrol, Patterson. Adjourned. In the evening there were grand fireworks. The Spanish Ambassador's house was adorned with transparent paintings; the French minister's house was illuminated, and had some transparent pieces; the Hall was grandly illuminated, and after all this the people went to bed.

Inaugural
night.

May 1st.—Attended at the Hall at eleven. The prayers were over and the minutes read. When we came to the minutes of the speech it stood, *His Most Gracious Speech*. I looked all around the Senate. Every countenance seemed to wear a blank. The Secretary was going on: I must speak or nobody would. "Mr. President, we have lately had a hard struggle for our liberty against kingly authority. The minds of men are still heated; everything related to that species of government is odious to the people. The words prefixed to the President's speech are the same that are usually placed before the speech of his Britannic Majesty. I know they will give offense. I consider them as improper. I therefore move that they be struck out, and that it stand simply address or speech, as may be judged most suitable."

Opposi-
tion to for-
malities.

Mr. Adams rose in his chair and expressed the greatest surprise that anything should be objected to on account of its being taken from the practice of that government under which we had lived so long and happily formerly; that he

was for a dignified and respectable government, and as far as he knew the sentiments of people they thought as he did; that for his part he was one of the first in the late contest [the Revolution], and, if *he could have thought of this, he never would have drawn his sword.*

Painful as it was, I had to contend with the Chair. I admitted that the people of the colonies (now States) had enjoyed formerly great happiness under that species of government, but the abuses of that Government under which they had to fear from that kind of government; that there had been a revolution in the sentiments of people respecting government equally great as that which had happened in the Government itself; that even the modes of it were now abhorred; that the enemies of the Constitution had objected to it the facility there would be of transition from it to kingly government and all the trappings and splendor of royalty; that if such a thing as this appeared on our minutes, they would not fail to represent it as the first step of the ladder in the ascent to royalty. The Vice-President rose a second time, and declared that he had mentioned it to the Secretary; that he could not possibly conceive that any person could take offense at it. . . .

After the House adjourned the Vice-President took me to one side, declared how much he was for an efficient Government, how much he respected General Washington, and much of that kind. I told him I would yield to no person in respect to General Washington; that our common friends would perhaps one day inform him that I was not wanting in respect to himself [Adams]; that my wishes for an efficient Government were as high as any man's, and I begged him to believe that I did myself great violence when I opposed him in the chair, and nothing but a sense of duty could force me to it. He got on the subject of checks to government and the balances of power. . . . I caught at the last word, and said undoubtedly without a balance there could be no equilibrium, and so left him hanging in geometry. . . .

May 18th, Monday.—Senate met. The address [to the

President] was read over, and we proceeded in carriages to the President's to present it. Having no part to act but that of a mute, I had nothing to embarrass me. We were received in an antechamber. Had some little difficulty about seats, as there were several wanting, from whence may be inferred that the President's major-domo is not the most provident, as our numbers were well enough known. We had not been seated more than three minutes when it was signified to us to wait on the President in his levee-room. The Vice-President went foremost, and the Senators followed without any particular order. We made our bows as we entered, and the Vice-President, having made a bow, began to read an address. He was much confused. The paper trembled in his hand, though he had the aid of both by resting it on his hat, which he held in his left hand. He read very badly all that was on the front pages. The turning of the page seemed to restore him, and he read the rest with more propriety. This agitation was the more remarkable, as there were but twenty-two persons present and none of them strangers.

Reply of
the Senate
to the
President's
address.

The President took his reply out of his coat-pocket. He had his spectacles in his jacket-pocket, having his hat in his left hand and the paper in his right. He had too many objects for his hands. He shifted his hat between his forearm and the left side of his breast. But taking his spectacles from the case embarrassed him. He got rid of this small distress by laying the spectacle-case on the chimney-piece. Colonel Humphreys stood on his right, Mr. Lear on his left. Having adjusted his spectacles, which was not very easy, considering the engagements on his hands, he read the reply with tolerable exactness and without much emotion. I thought he should have received us with spectacles on, which would have saved the making of some uncouth motions. Yet, on the whole, he did nearly as well as anyone could have done the same motions. Could the laws of etiquette have permitted him to have been disencumbered of his hat, it would have relieved him much.

After having read his reply, he delivered the paper to the Vice-President with an easy inclination, bowed around to the company, and desired them to be seated. This politeness seems founded on reason, for men after standing quite still for some time, want to sit, if it were for only a minute or two. The Vice-President did not comply, nor did he refuse, but stood so long that the President repeated the request. He declined it by making a low bow, and retired. We made our bows, came out to the door, and waited till our carriages took us up.

Returned [to the Hall] Senate formed. The address and reply were ordered on the minutes.

Presiden-
tial recep-
tion.

Had agreed with sundry of our Pennsylvania friends to go to the levee. General Muhlenberg came to me and told me they would meet in the committee-room. We did so, and went to the levee. I went foremost, and left them to follow and do as well as they could. . . . The company was large for the room. The foreign ministers were there, Van Bukel, the Dutch Minister (for the first time, I suppose), gaudy as a peacock. Our Pennsylvanians withdrew before me. The President honored me with a particular *tête-à-tête*. "How will this weather suit your farming?" "Poorly, Sir; the season is the most backward I have ever known. It is remarkably so here, but by letters from Pennsylvania vegetation is slow in proportion there." "The fruit, it is to be expected, will be safe; backward seasons are in favor of it, but in Virginia it was lost before I left that place." "Much depends on the exposure of the orchard. Those with a northern aspect have been found by us [in Pennsylvania] to be the most certain in producing fruit." "Yes, that is a good observation and should be attended to." Made my bow and retired. . . .

June 5th, Friday.— . . . Here are the most important bills before us, and yet we shall throw all by for empty ceremony, for attending the levee is little more. Nothing is regarded or valued at such meetings but the qualifications that

flow from the tailor, barber, or dancing-master. To be clean shaved, shirted, and powdered, to make your bows with grace, and to be master of small chat on the weather, play, or newspaper anecdote of the day, are the highest qualifications necessary. Levees may be extremely useful in old countries where men of great fortune are collected, as it may keep the idle from being much worse employed. But here I think they are hurtful. They interfere with the business of the public, and, instead of employing only the idle, have a tendency to make men idle who should be better employed. Indeed, from these small beginnings I fear we shall follow on nor cease till we have reached the summit of court etiquette, and all the frivolities, fopperies, and expense practiced in European governments. I grieve to think that many individuals among us are aiming at these objects with increasing diligence. . . .

March 8th, 1790.—This is the important week, and perhaps the important day, when the question will be put on the assumption of the State debts. I suspect this from the rendezvousing of the crew of the Hamilton galley. It seems all hands are piped to quarters.

Four o'clock,—I am rather deceived, as the adoption party do not yet consider themselves strong enough to risk the putting of the question, for it seems the day has passed and nothing is done. . . .

March 9th.—In the Senate Chamber this morning Butler said he heard a man say he would give Vining one thousand guineas for his vote, but added, "I question whether he would do so in fact." So do I, too, for he might get it for a tenth part of that sum. I do not know that pecuniary influence has actually been used, but I am certain that every other kind of management has been practiced and every tool at work that could be thought of. Officers of Government, clergy, citizens, [order of] Cincinnati, and every person under the influence of the Treasury; Bland and Huger carried to

Debate on
assump-
tion of
State
debts.

the Chamber of Representatives—the one lame, the other sick. Clymer stopped from going away, though he had leave, and at length they risked the question and carried it, thirty-one votes to twenty-six. And all this after having tampered with the members since the 22nd of last month [February], and this only in committee, with many doubts that some will fly off and great fears that the North Carolina members will be in before a bill can be matured or a report gone through. . . .

CHAPTER XV

FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1793-1801

47. CONTROL OF THE NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI BY SPAIN, 1793

One of the most perplexing problems to be met by President Washington and his advisers grew out of the control of the mouth of the Mississippi by Spain. From the close of the Revolution men of the West were demanding the right to market their produce in New Orleans and to use that port for shipping. The following petition, printed in a Kentucky newspaper of the time, is one of many illustrating the general dissatisfaction in the West.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES WEST OF THE
ALLEGANY AND APALACHIAN MOUNTAINS.

Fellow Citizens,

The Democratic Society of Kentucky, having had under consideration the measures necessary to obtain the exercise of your right to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have determined to address you upon that important topic. In so doing, they think, that they only use the undoubted right of Citizens, to consult for their common welfare. This measure is not dictated by party or faction, it is the consequence of unavoidable necessity. It has become so from the neglect shewn by the General Government, to obtain for those of the citizens of the United States, who are interested therein, the navigation of that River.

In the present age, when the rights of man have been fully investigated and declared by the voice of nations, and more particularly in America, where those rights were first developed and declared, it will not be necessary to prove,

Reason for
appeal.

Naviga-
tion of
Missis-
sippi a nat-
ural right.

that the free navigation of the Mississippi is the natural right of the Inhabitants of the country watered by its streams. It cannot be believed, that the beneficent God of nature would have blessed this country with unparalleled fertility, and furnished it with a number of navigable streams, and that that fertility should be consumed at home, and those streams should not convey its superabundance to the climes far from it; for if we examine the wise diversity of the earth, as to climate and productions, lands, seas and rivers, we must discover the glorious plan of infinite beneficence to unite by the exchange of their surplus, various nations, and connect the ends of the earth, in the hands of commerce and mutual good offices. From the everlasting decrees of Providence, then, we derive this right; and must be criminal either to surrender or suffer it to be taken from us; without the most arduous struggle. But this right is ours, not only from nature but compact. We do not mean to urge this, as if a compact could give an additional sanction to a natural right; but to shew that our claim is derived from every source which can give it validity. The Navigation of the Mississippi was solemnly given and confirmed by Great Britain, to the citizens of the United States, by the provisional articles entered into at Paris, between the two nations. More than eleven years have since elapsed, during which we have been denied the exercise of a right, founded upon such irrefragible grounds. What has been done by the former or present Government, during that period, on our behalf? In the former, we have been able to learn of no attempt to procure from the King of Spain, even an acknowledgment of our right. Repeated Memorials were presented to Congress upon the subject, but they were treated with a neglect bordering on contempt. They were laid upon the table, there to rest in endless oblivion. Once indeed, we know this subject was introduced into Congress, under the former Government; but it was by an unwarrantable and disgraceful proposition to barter away our right. The proposition was not adopted; the attempt being rendered abortive by the spirited

Right to
navigate
the Mis-
sissippi de-
rived from
Great
Britain.

and patriotic opposition of a part of the Union. The time at length came, when the voice of the people called for a change in the General Government; and the present Constitution of the United States was adopted. We then flattered ourselves that our rights would be protected; for we were taught to believe, that the former loose and weak confederation having been done away, the new Government would possess the requisite energy. Memorials upon the subject were renewed: Six years have passed away, and our right is not yet obtained. Money is to be taken from us by an odious and oppressive excise; but the means of procuring it, by the exercise of our just right, is denied. In the mean while, our brethren on the Eastern waters, possess every advantage which nature or compact can give them. Nay, we do not know that even one firm attempt to obtain it has been made. Alas! Is the energy of our Government not to be exerted against our enemies? Is it all to be reserved for her citizens?

New government negligent of their rights.

Experience, Fellow-Citizens, has shewn that the General Government is unwilling that we should obtain the navigation of the River Mississippi. A local policy appears to have an undue weight in the Councils of the Union. It seems to be the object of that policy to prevent the population of this country, which would draw from the Eastern States their industrious Citizens. This conclusion inevitably follows from a consideration of the measures taken to prevent the purchase and settlement of the lands bordering on the Mississippi. Among those measures, the unconstitutional interference, which rescinded sales, by one of the States to private individuals makes a striking object. And perhaps, the fear of a successful rivalry in every article of their exports may have its weight. But, if they are not unwilling to do us justice, they are at least regardless of our rights and welfare. We have found prayers and supplications of no avail; and should we continue to load the table of Congress with memorials, from a part only, of the Western Country, it is too probable they would meet with a fate, similar to those which have formerly been presented. Let us, then, all unite our endeav-

East vs. West.

Demands
to be
made.

ours to the common cause. Let all join in a firm and manly Remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States, stating our just and undoubted right to the Navigation of the Mississippi, remonstrating against the conduct of government with regard to that right, which must have been occasioned by local policy or neglect, and demanding of them speedy and effectual exertions for its attainment. We cannot doubt, that you will cordially and unanimously join in this measure. It can hardly be necessary to remind you, that considerable quantities of beef, pork, flour, hemp, tobacco, etc. the produce of this country, remain on hand for want of purchasers, or are sold at inadequate prices. Much greater quantities might be raised, if the Inhabitants were encouraged by a certain sale, which the free Navigation of the Mississippi would afford. An additional increase of those articles, and a greater variety of produce and manufactures would be supplied, by means of the encouragement, which the attainment of that great object would give to migration. But it is not only your own rights which you are to regard. Remember that your posterity have a claim to your exertions to obtain and secure that right. Let not your memory be stigmatized with a neglect of duty. Let not history record, that the Inhabitants of this beautiful country lost a most invaluable right and half the benefit bestowed upon it by a bountiful Providence, through your neglect and supineness. The present crisis is favorable. Spain is engaged in a war, which requires all her forces. If the present golden opportunity be suffered to pass without advantage, and she shall have concluded a peace with France, we must then contend against her undivided strength.

But, what may be the event of the proposed application, is yet uncertain. We ought therefore, to be upon our guard, and watchful to seize the first favourable opportunity to gain our object. In order to do this, our union should be as perfect and lasting as possible. We propose, that societies should be formed in convenient districts, in every part of the Western country who shall preserve a correspondence upon

Corre-
spondence
societies
to be
formed.

this and every other subject of general concern. By means of these societies, we shall be enabled speedily to know what may be the result of our endeavours—to consult upon such further measures as may be necessary—to preserve union—and finally, by these means to secure success.

Remember, that it is a cause which ought to unite us—that that cause is indubitably just—that ourselves and posterity are interested—that the Crisis is favourable—and that it is only by union, that the object can be achieved. The obstacles are great, and so ought to be our efforts. Adverse fortune may attend us, but it shall never dispirit us. We may for a while exhaust our wealth and strength in vain; but until the all-important object is procured, we pledge ourselves to you, and let us all pledge ourselves to each other, that our perseverance and our firmness will be inexhaustible.

By order of the Society

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE
Chairman.

Teste,

THOMAS TODD }
THOMAS BODLEY } *Clerks*

December 13, 1793.

48. WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

In saying farewell to the American people, whom he had served so well, Washington prepared a statement which is classed as one of our leading State papers. In it he appealed for national unity, freedom from permanent foreign alliances, the promotion of education, the preservation of public credit, and the avoidance of debt.—(Paul Leicester Ford, *The Writings of George Washington*, XIII, 1794-8, 277 *passim*.)

FRIENDS, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

The period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be

Washington declines re-nomination.

clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now appraise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country—and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but act under and am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both. . . .

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.—In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable.—Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome.—Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it. . . .

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you.—It is justly so;—for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity in every shape; of that very Liberty, which you so highly prize.—But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes, and from different quarters,

His best
efforts put
forth.

Value of
Union.

much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth;—as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. . . .

While then every part of our Country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts in the united mass of means and efforts cannot fail to find greater strength, greater resource, proportionally greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other. . . .

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union,

Causes for
disturb-
ance of
Union.

it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts.—You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations;—They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. . . .

Dangers in
parties.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the Spirit of Liberty.—This within certain limits is probably true—and in governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party.—But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose, and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warning, it should consume. . . .

Influence
of religion
and moral-
ity.

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.—The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity.—Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in

Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion.—Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.—

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.—The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of Free Government.—Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?—

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.—

An enlightened public opinion.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit.—One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible:—avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it. . . .

Preserve public credit.

Cultivate peace and harmony with all.—Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?—It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

Peace with all nations.

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particu-

lar nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. . . .

Little political connections with other nations.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *Political* connection as possible.—So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.—

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities. . . .

Conscious of defects.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error—I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors.—Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend.—I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. . . .

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations;—I anticipate with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free Government,—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

United States, September 19th, 1796.

49. THE X. Y. Z. CORRESPONDENCE, 1797

In 1796 Washington appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to succeed James Monroe as minister to France. The Directory, the French Executive of that time, refused to receive Pinckney, and ordered him to leave France. This insult was thought by most Americans to be sufficient cause for war, but President Adams, determined to preserve peace, if possible, sent three commissioners to France to attempt negotiation. These three men, C. C. Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, were interviewed by the secret agents of Talleyrand, who was minister of foreign affairs. Refusing to accede to their demands, Pinckney and Marshall left Paris, and Gerry also returned to America shortly after. The letters giving an account of the proceedings were sent to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, and were later submitted to Congress.—(American State Papers, Foreign Relations, II, 157–166.)

No. 1

PARIS, October 22, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

All of us having arrived at Paris on the evening of the 4th instant, on the next day we verbally, and unofficially, informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs therewith, and desired to know when he would be at leisure to receive one of our secretaries with the official notification. He appointed the next day at two o'clock, when Major Rutledge waited on him with the following letter:

Arrival in Paris.

Citizen Minister: The United States of America being desirous of terminating all differences between them and the French republic, and of restoring that harmony and good understanding, and that commercial and friendly intercourse, which from the commencement of their political connexion until lately have so happily subsisted, the President has nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has appointed us, the undersigned, jointly and severally, envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the French republic, for the purpose of accomplishing these great objects. In pursuance of such nomination and appointment,

Address to the French minister.

and with such view, having come to Paris, we wish, citizen minister, to wait on you at any hour you will be pleased to appoint, to present the copy of our letters of credence; and whilst we evince our sincere and ardent desire for the speedy restoration of friendship and harmony between the two republics, we flatter ourselves with your concurrence in the accomplishment of this desirable event. We request you will accept the assurances of our perfect esteem and consideration.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
JOHN MARSHALL,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Mission of
W. and X.

. . . In the morning of October the 18th, Mr. W., of the house of ———, called on General Pinckney and informed him that a Mr. X., who was in Paris, and whom the General had seen, . . . was a gentleman of considerable credit and reputation, . . . and that we might place great reliance on him.

In the evening of the same day, Mr. X. called on General Pinckney, and after having sat some time, . . . whispered him that he had a message from M. Talleyrand to communicate when he was at leisure. General Pinckney immediately withdrew with him into another room; and, when they were alone, Mr. X. said that he was charged with a business in which he was a novice; that he had been acquainted with M. Talleyrand, . . . and that he was sure he had a great regard for [America] and its citizens; and was very desirous that a reconciliation should be brought about with France; that, to effectuate that end, he was ready, if it was thought proper, to suggest a plan, confidentially, that M. Talleyrand expected would answer the purpose. General Pinckney said he should be glad to hear it. Mr. X. replied that the Directory, and particularly two of the members of it, were exceedingly irritated at some passages of the President's speech, and desired that they should be softened; and that this step would be necessary previous to our reception. That,

besides this, a sum of money was required for the pocket of the Directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. Talleyrand; and that a loan would also be insisted on. Mr. X. said if we acceded to these measures, M. Talleyrand had no doubt that all our differences with France might be accomodated. On inquiry, Mr. X. could not point out the particular passages of the speech that had given offence, nor the quantum of the loan, but mentioned that the *douceur* for the pocket was twelve hundred thousand livres, about fifty thousand pounds sterling. General Pinckney told him, his colleagues and himself, from the time of their arrival here, had been treated with great slight and disrespect; that they earnestly wished for peace and reconciliation with France; and had been entrusted by their country with very great powers, to obtain these ends on honourable terms; that, with regard to the propositions made, he could not even consider of them before he had communicated them to his colleagues; that, after he had done so, he should hear from him. After a communication and consultation, it was agreed that General Pinckney should call on Mr. X. and request him to make his propositions to us all; and for fear of mistake or misapprehension, that he should be requested to reduce the heads into writing. Accordingly, on the morning of October 19th, General Pinckney called on Mr. X., who consented to see his colleagues in the evening, and to reduce his propositions to writing. He said his communication was not immediately with M. Talleyrand, but through another gentleman in whom M. Talleyrand had great confidence. This proved afterwards to be Mr. Y. . . . October the 21st, Mr. X. came before nine o'clock; Mr. Y. did not come until ten: he had passed the morning with M. Talleyrand. After breakfast the subject was immediately resumed. He represented to us, that we were not yet acknowledged or received; that the Directory were so exasperated against the United States, as to have come to a determination to demand from us, previous to our reception, those disavowals, reparations, and explanations, which were stated at large last evening. . . .

Bribe demanded.

Insistent
demand
for gifts
of money.

He said further, that if we desired him to point out the sum which he believed would be satisfactory, he would do so. We requested him to proceed; and he said that there were thirty-two millions of florins, of Dutch inscriptions, worth ten shillings in the pound, which might be assigned to us at twenty shillings in the pound; and he proceeded to state to us the certainty that, after a peace, the Dutch Government would repay us the money; so that we should ultimately lose nothing, and the only operation of the measure would be, an advance from us to France of thirty-two millions, on the credit of the Government of Holland. We asked him whether the fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a *douceur* to the Directory, must be in addition to this sum. He answered in the affirmative. We told him that, on the subject of the treaty, we had no hesitation in saying that our powers were ample; that, on the other points proposed to us, we would retire into another room, and return in a few minutes with our answer.

Counter-
proposals
by Ameri-
cans.

We committed immediately to writing the answer we proposed, in the following words: "Our powers respecting a treaty are ample; but the proposition of a loan, in the form of Dutch inscriptions, or in any other form, is not within the limits of our instructions; upon this point, therefore, the Government must be consulted; one of the American ministers will, for the purpose, forthwith embark for America; providing the Directory will suspend all further captures on American vessels, and will suspend proceedings on those already captured, as well where they have been already condemned, as where the decisions have not yet been rendered; and that where sales have been made, but the money not yet received by the captors, it shall not be paid until the preliminary questions, proposed to the ministers of the United States, be discussed and decided": which was read as a verbal answer; and we told them they might copy it if they pleased. Mr. Y. refused to do so; his disappointment was apparent; he said we treated the money part of the proposition as if it had proceeded from the Directory; whereas, in fact, it did not proceed even from the minister, but was only

a suggestion from himself, as a substitute to be proposed by us, in order to avoid the painful acknowledgment that the Directory had determined to demand of us. It was told him that we understood that matter perfectly; that we knew the proposition was in form to be ours; but that it came substantially from the minister. We asked him what had led him to our present conversation? And General Pinckney then repeated the first communication from Mr. X. (to the whole of which that gentleman assented) and we observed that those gentlemen had brought no testimonials of their speaking any thing from authority; but that, relying on the fair characters they bore, we had believed them when they said they were from the minister, and had conversed with them, in like manner, as if we were conversing with M. Talleyrand himself. . . .

About twelve we received another visit from Mr. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the papers, and then said, that some proposals from us had been expected on the subject on which we had before conversed: that the Directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided course with regard to America, if we could not soften them. We answered, that on that subject we had already spoken explicitly, and had nothing further to add: He mentioned the change in the state of things which had been produced by the peace with the emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our system; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. Mr. X. urged, that the Directory had, since this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with respect to us, and all other neutral nations, than had been before taken; that it had been determined, that all nations should aid them, or be considered and treated as their enemies. We answered, that such an effect had already been contemplated by us, as probable, and had not been overlooked when we gave to this proposition our decided answer; and further, that we had no powers to negotiate for a loan of money; that our Government had

Directory
impatient.

Commissioners no power to make a loan.

not contemplated such a circumstance in any degree whatever; that if we should stipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France, and expose ourselves. Mr. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the danger of our situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The present men, he said, would very probably not continue long in power, and it would be very unfortunate if those who might succeed, with better dispositions towards us, should find the two nations in actual war. We answered, that if war should be made on us by France, it would be so obviously forced on us, that on a change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accommodated. We added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than a declared war could be; that at present our commerce was plundered unprotected; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. Mr. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connection with Britain; and we answered, that we hoped so too; that we had all been engaged in our Revolutionary war, and felt its injuries, that it had made the deepest impression on us; but that if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defense. Mr. X. again returned to the subject of money: Said he, "Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point; it is money: it is expected that you will offer money." We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly: we had given an answer. "No," said he, "you have not: what is your answer?" We replied, it is no; no; not a sixpence. He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and asked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in our favor. He said we ought to consider what men we had to treat with; that they disregarded the justice of our claims, and the reasoning with which we might support them; that they disregarded their own colonies, and considered themselves as

No money to be given by Americans.

perfectly invulnerable with respect to us; that we could only acquire an interest among them by a judicious application of money, and it was for us to consider, whether the situation of our country did not require that these means should be resorted to. We observed that the conduct of the French Government was such as to leave us much reason to fear, that should we give the money, it would effect no good purpose, and would not produce a just mode of thinking with respect to us. . . .

We have not, however, hitherto received any official intimation relative to this business: we are not yet received; and the condemnation of our vessels, for want of a *rôle d'équipage*, is unremittingly continued. Frequent and urgent attempts have been made to inveigle us again into negotiations with persons not officially authorized, of which the obtaining of money is the basis: but we have persisted in declining to have any further communications relative to diplomatic business with persons of that description; and we mean to adhere to this determination. We are sorry to inform you that the present disposition of the Government of this country appears to be as unfriendly towards ours as ever, and that we have very little prospect of succeeding in our mission.

Commissioners not officially received.

We have the honor to be, etc.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
J. MARSHALL,
E. GERRY.

50. JOHN MARSHALL'S RETURN TO AMERICA AND FRENCH-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1798

(The Philadelphia Gazette, June 19, 1798.)

He was met at Frankfort by the Secretary of State and other citizens and escorted to town by the city cavalry commanded by Captains Dunlap, Singer and Morrell. The bells were rung, and the streets crowded with citizens, who, by

repeated acclamations evinced their affectionate respect to the distinguished talents and character of their fellow citizen and their satisfaction at his safe return from a very arduous and important mission. . . .

John Marshall was given a dinner by the members of both Houses of Congress. The following toasts were offered. Number thirteen is particularly noteworthy as it has been commonly accepted as the reply of Mr. Pinckney which was "No, No, Not a six-pence."

1. "The United States, free sovereign, and independent."
2. "The people and the government, one and indivisible."
13. "Millions for defense but not a cent for tribute."

ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE

President Adams declared in his message to Congress that negotiation was at an end and concluded with the famous statement: "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation." Thousands of copies of the message and papers accompanying it were printed and dispersed by the Government and thousands more by individuals at their own expense. The minds of the people were roused to the highest pitch. Addresses expressing confidence were sent to the President from all parts of the country. Calls for volunteers for the defence of the government were general. A company of Baltimore women proposed to associate themselves into a military corps for the defence of the country under the name of the American Amazon Infantry. Some Philadelphia women formed themselves into a reserve corps ready to march against the enemy when affairs should appear sufficiently gloomy to justify the measure. The following call for volunteers appeared in the Philadelphia Gazette for July 27, 1798:

General Washington Commands!

Hark! The Drum Beats To Arms!

Recruiting Sergeant to the Youth of New Jersey.

But to those youthful heroes who have never seen the world or heard the inspiring heart cheering sound of the drum and trumpet, he begs leave to address a few words. Your country, my boys is threatened with invasion! Your houses

and farms with fire, plunder and pillage. . . . To arms then, my dear brave boys! leave your lonesome cottages and repair to the drum-head at New Brunswick where you will find me and my Comrades (all true sons of thunder) drinking bowls of cool grog, to the health and honour of Congress and our noble President. You shall there receive a handsome bounty with five dollars a month (until promoted) an elegant suit of clothes, draw daily rations that might tempt an epicure, and be treated with kindness and attention by your loving friend and well-wisher.

JAMES HAMILTON

Recruiting Sergeant.

THE PEOPLE AND PRESIDENT ADAMS

Lord Liston, British Minister to America, was a close observer of passing events. In the following letter to his home government, May 2, 1798, copied from the original in the British Public Record Office, he described the attitude of Americans toward President Adams:

His conduct towards the French Government is considered as affording proofs of equal decision, ability and wisdom; he is looked up to as eminently calculated by his fortitude and genius to conduct the nation through the impending storm: and he is of a sudden become highly popular.

I have seen him at the beginning of this season enter the theater and leave it without receiving the slightest mark of attention. Last night all the spectators rose when he appeared, the house was shaken with loud and protracted acclamations. A patriotic song, of no great poetical merit but in which there was introduced a stanza in his praise, was repeatedly called for, and received with enthusiastic applause, and the whole audience joined in the chorus. In the night he was serenaded by a band of musicians and singers accompanied by a great number of persons of some rank—a compliment which was afterwards extended to the principal members of his administration.

51. STEPS LEADING TO AN UNDERSTANDING

During the summer of 1798, Talleyrand in a letter to the French minister in Holland intimated that France was then prepared to receive a representative from America. As was expected, this communication was made known to the American minister in Holland, William Vans Murray. This finally led to the sending of the second commission of three men by President Adams.—(American State Papers, Foreign Relations, II, 242.)

The Minister of Exterior Relations to Citizen Pichon, Secretary of Legation of the French republic near the Batavian republic.

PARIS, the 7th Vendemiaire, (September 28, 1798),
7th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

I have received, successively, citizen, your letters of the 22nd and 27th Fructidor, (8th and 13th of September.) They give me more and more cause to be pleased with the measures you have adopted to detail to me your conversations with Mr. Murray: those conversations, at first merely friendly, have acquired a consistency, by my sanction, transmitted to you on the 11th Fructidor, (28th of August.) I do not regret that you have trusted to Mr. Murray's honor a copy of my letter. It was intended only for you; and it contains nothing but what is conformable to the Government's intention. I am fully convinced that should explanations once take place with confidence between the two cabinets, irritation would cease, a number of misunderstandings would disappear, and the ties of friendship would be more strongly united, as both parties would be made sensible what hand had attempted to disunite them. But I do not conceal from you that your letter of the 2nd and 3rd Vendemiaire, (23rd and 24th of September,) this moment arrived, surprises me much. What Mr. Murray is still doubtful of has been very explicitly declared, before even the President's message to Congress, of the 3rd Messidor, (21st of June,) was known in France. I had written it to Mr. Gerry, namely on the 24th

Messidor, (12th of July,) and 4th Thermidor, (July 22nd.) I repeated it to him before he set off. A whole paragraph of my letter to you, of the 11th Fructidor, (28th of August,) of which Mr. Murray has a copy, is devoted to develop still more the fixed determination of the French Government. According to these bases, you were right to assert that whatever plenipotentiary the Government of the United States might send to France, in order to terminate the existing differences between the two countries, he would be undoubtedly received with the respect due to the representative of a free, independent, and powerful nation.

I cannot persuade myself, citizen, that the American Government need any further declaration from us, to take the resolution, in order to renew the negotiations; to adopt such measures, as would suggest their wish to bring the differences to a peaceable end. If misunderstandings on both sides have prevented former explanations reaching that end, it is presumable that these misunderstandings being done away, nothing henceforth will raise any obstacle to the reciprocal dispositions. . . .

CHAPTER XVI

DEMOCRACY AND EXPANSION, 1801-1811

52. THOMAS JEFFERSON AS MAN AND STATESMAN

The first number of the *National Intelligencer* was published in Washington, October 31, 1800. For over fifty years, as a triweekly, and later as a daily, it was one of the leading national newspapers. Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, wife of the first owner of the paper, counted among her friends the men and women of the time who were the leaders in political and social life. She was in position, therefore, to give a good description of the period when Jefferson became President.—(Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, *Diaries and Family Letters*, edited by Gaillard Hunt, *Scribner's Magazine*, XL, September, 1906, 294 *passim*.)

Personal-
ity of Jef-
erson,
800.

"And is this," said I, after my first interview with Mr. Jefferson, "the violent democrat, the vulgar demagogue, the bold atheist & profligate man I have so often heard denounced by the federalists? Can this man so meek & mild, yet dignified in his manners, with a voice so soft & low, with a countenance so benignant & intelligent, can he be that daring leader of a faction, that disturber of the peace, that leader of all rank & order?" Mr. Smith, indeed, (himself a democrat) had given me a very different description of this celebrated individual; but his favourable opinion I attributed in a great measure to his political feelings, which led him zealously to support & exalt the party to which he belonged, especially its popular & almost idolized leader. Thus the virulence of party-spirit was somewhat neutralized, nay, I even entertained towards him the most kindly dispositions, knowing him to be not only politically but personally friendly

to my husband; yet I believed that he was an ambitious & violent demagogue coarse & vulgar in his manners, awkward & rude in his appearance, for such had the public journals & private conversations of the federal party represented him to be.

At this time Mr. Jefferson was vice-President & in nomination for the Presidency. Our infant city afforded scant accommodations for the members of Congress. There were few good boarding-houses, but Mr. Jefferson was fortunate enough to obtain one of the best. Thomas Law one of the wealthiest citizens & largest proprietors of city property, had just finished for his own use a commodious & handsome house on Capitol hill; this, on discovering the insufficiency of accommodation, he gave up to Conrad for a boarding-house, & removed to a very inconvenient dwelling on Greenleaf's point, almost two miles distant from the Capitol.

The capital city.

Conrad's boarding-house was on the south side of Capitol hill & commanded an extensive & beautiful view. It was on the top of the hill, the precipitous sides of which were covered with grass, shrubs & trees in their wild uncultivated state. Between the foot of the hill & the broad Potomac extended a wide plain, through which the Tiber wound its way. The romantic beauty of this little stream was not then deformed by wharves or other works of art. Its banks were shaded with tall & umbrageous forest trees of every variety, among which the superb Tulip-Poplar rose conspicuous; The magnolia, the azalia, the hawthorn, the wild-rose & many other indigenous shrubs grew beneath their shade, while violets, anemonies & a thousand other sweet wood-flowers found shelter among their roots, from the winter's frost & greeted with the earliest bloom the return of spring. . . . Not only the banks of the Tiber, but those of the Potomack & Anacosta, were at this period adorned with native trees & shrubs & were distinguished by as romantic scenery as any rivers in our country. Indeed the whole plain was diversified with groves & clumps of forest trees which gave it the appearance of a fine

park. Such as grew on the public grounds ought to have been preserved, but in a government such as ours, where the people are sovereign, this could not be done. *The people*, the poorer inhabitants cut down these noble & beautiful trees for fuel. In one single night seventy Tulip-Poplars were *girdled*, by which process life is destroyed & afterwards cut up at their leisure by the people. Nothing afflicted Mr. Jefferson like this wanton destruction of the fine trees scattered over the city-grounds. I remember on one occasion (it was after he was President) his exclaiming "How I wish that I possessed the power of a despot." The company at table stared at a declaration so opposed to his disposition & principles. "Yes," continued he, in reply to their inquiring looks, "I wish I was a despot that I might save the noble, the beautiful trees that are daily falling sacrifices to the cupidity of their owners, or the necessity of the poor."

"And have you not authority to save those on the public grounds?" asked one of the company. "No," answered Mr. J., "only an armed guard could save them. The unnecessary felling of a tree, perhaps the growth of centuries seems to me a crime little short of murder, it pains me to an unspeakable degree."

Jefferson's
democ-
racy.

It was partly from this love of nature, that he selected Conrad's boarding-house, being there able to enjoy the beautiful & extensive prospect described above. Here he had a separate drawing-room for the reception of his visitors, in all other respects he lived on a perfect equality with his fellow boarders, and eat at a common table. Even here, so far from taking precedence of the other members of Congress, he always placed himself at the lowest end of the table. Mrs. Brown, the wife of the senator from Kentucky, suggested that a seat should be offered him at the upper end, near the fire, if not on account of his rank as vice-President, at least as the oldest man in company. But the idea was rejected by his democratic friends, & he occupied during the whole winter the lowest & coldest seat at a long table at which a company of more than thirty sat down.

February, 1801.

It was a day, "big with our country's fate"—a fate not suspended on the triumph or defeat of two contending armies drawn forth in battle array—but on two contending political Parties, who after years of conflict, were now brought to issue. The power, which had been originally vested in the Federal party, had been gradually diminished by the force of public opinion, & transferred to the Democratic Party. For a while equality of power was maintained—but the equipoise did not last long,—a great & preponderating majority in the Presidential election, decided the relative strength of parties, the Democrats prevailed & brought into office, on the full-tide of popularity, the man who had been long recognized as the head of their Party.

Jefferson
elected
President.

There was not a shadow of doubt or uncertainty as to the object of the people's choice. It had been proclaimed too widely & too loudly for any individual to remain ignorant of the fact.

But this accidental & uncalculated result, gave the Federal party a chance of preventing the election of a man they politically abhorred—a man whose weight of influence had turned the scale in favour of the opposing Party. No means were left unattempted (perhaps I ought to say no *honest* means) to effect this measure.

It was an awful crisis. The People who with such an overwhelming majority had declared their will would never peaceably have allowed the man of their choice to be set aside, & the individual they had chosen as vice-President, to be put in his place. A civil war must have taken place, to be terminated in all human probability by a rupture of the Union. Such consequences were at least calculated on, & excited a deep & inflammatory interest. Crowds of anxious spirits from the adjacent county & cities thronged to the seat of government & hung like a thunder cloud over the Capitol, their indignation ready to burst on any individual who might be designated as President in opposition to the people's known choice. The citizens of Baltimore who from

their proximity, were the first apprised of this daring design, were with difficulty restrained from rushing on with an armed force, to prevent,—or if they could not prevent, to avenge this violation of the People's will & in their own vehement language, to hurl the usurper from his seat. Mr. Jefferson, then President of the Senate, sitting in the midst of these *conspirators*, as they were then called, unavoidably hearing their loudly whispered designs, witnessing their gloomy & restless machinations, aware of the dreadful consequences, which must follow their meditated designs, preserved through this trying period the most unclouded serenity the most perfect equanimity. A spectator who watched his countenance, would never have surmised, that he had any personal interest in the impending event. Calm & self possessed, he retained his seat in the midst of the angry & stormy, though half smothered passions that were struggling around him, & by this dignified tranquility repressed any open violence,—tho' insufficient to prevent whispered menaces & insults, to these however he turned a deaf ear, & resolutely maintained a placidity which baffled the designs of his enemies.

The crisis was at hand. The two bodies of Congress met, the Senators as witnesses the Representatives as electors. The question on which hung peace or war, nay, the Union of the States was to be decided. What an awful responsibility was attached to every vote given on that occasion. The sitting was held with closed doors. It lasted the whole day, the whole night. Not an individual left that solemn assembly, the necessary refreshment they required was taken in rooms adjoining the Hall. They were not like the Roman conclave legally & forcibly confined, the restriction was self-imposed from the deep-felt necessity of avoiding any extrinsic or external influence. Beds, as well as food were sent, for the accommodation of those whom age or debility disabled from enduring such a long protracted sitting—the balloting took place every hour—in the interval men ate, drank, slept or pondered over the result of the last ballot, compared ideas

& persuasions to change votes, or gloomily anticipated the consequences, let the result be what it would.

With what an intense interest did every individual watch each successive examination of the Ballot-box, how breathlessly did they listen to the counting of the votes! Every hour a messenger brought to the Editor of the *N. I.** the result of the Ballot. That night I never lay down or closed my eyes. As the hour drew near its close, my heart would almost audibly beat & I was seized with a tremour that almost disabled me from opening the door for the expected messenger.

For more than thirty hours the struggle was maintained, but finding the republican phalanx impenetrable, not to be shaken in their purpose, every effort proving unavailing, the Senator from Delaware (James A. Bayard) the withdrawal of whose vote would determine the issue, took his part, gave up his party for his country, and threw into the box a blank ballot, thus leaving to the republicans a majority. Mr. Jefferson was declared duly elected. The assembled crowds, without the Capitol, rent the air with their acclamations and gratulations, and the Conspirators as they were called, hurried to their lodgings under strong apprehensions of suffering from the just indignation of their fellow citizens.

The dark and threatening cloud which had hung over the political horrison, rolled harmlessly away, and the sunshine of prosperity and gladness broke forth and ever since, with the exception of a few passing clouds has continued to shine on our happy country. . . .

His tall and slender figure is not impaired by age, tho' bent by care and labour. His white locks announce an age his activity, strength, health, enthusiasm, ardour and gaiety contradict. His face owes all its charm to its expression and intelligence; his features are not good and his complexion bad, but his countenance is so full of soul and beams with such benignity, that when the eye rests on his face, it is too busy in perusing its expression, to think of its features or

Visit to
Monti-
cello, 1809.

* *National Intelligencer.*

complexion. His low and mild voice, harmonizes with his countenance rather than his figure. But his manners,—how gentle, how humble, how kind. His meanest slave must feel as if it were a father instead of a master who addressed him, when he speaks. To a disposition ardent, affectionate and communicative, he joins manners timid, even to bashfulness and reserved even to coldness. If his life had not proved to the contrary I should have pronounced him rather a man of imagination and taste, than a man of judgement, a literary rather than a scientific man, and least of all a politician, a character for which nature never seemed to have intended him, and for which the natural turn of mind, and his disposition, taste, and feeling equally unfit him. I should have been sure that this was the case, even had he not told me so. In an interesting conversation I had one evening—speaking of his past public and present domestic life—"The whole of my life," said he, "has been a war with my natural taste, feelings and wishes. Domestic life and literary pursuits, were my first and my latest inclinations, circumstances and not my desires lead me to the path I have trod. And like a bow tho long bent, which when unstrung flies back to its natural state, I resume with delight the character and pursuits for which nature designed me.

"The circumstances of our country," continued he, "at my entrance into life, were such that every honest man felt himself compelled to take part, and to act up to the best of his abilities." . . .

53. THOMAS JEFFERSON AS SEEN BY DANIEL WEBSTER

Webster visited Jefferson at Monticello during the year 1824. This description is given in George Ticknor Curtis's *Life of Daniel Webster*, I, 581-4:

Mr. Jefferson is now between 81 and 82 above six feet high, of an ample bony frame, rather thin and spare. His head is set forward on his shoulders. His head is well covered with hair, which having once been red, and now turning

white, is of an indistinct light sandy color. His eyes are small, very light and now neither brilliant nor striking. His chin is rather long, not sharp; his nose small, regular in its outline, with the nostrils a little elevated. His mouth is well formed, generally strongly compressed, having an expression of contentment and benevolence. His limbs are uncommonly long and his hands and feet very large. He stoops a little, not so much from age as from constitutional formation. His whole dress is not slovenly but neglected.

Every fair morning he rides on horseback not less than seven miles, sometimes twelve or fourteen. His conversation is easy and natural. The topics when not selected to suit the character and feeling of his auditor, are those subjects with which his mind seems particularly occupied and these at present may be justly said to be—1. science and letters, especially the University of Virginia which is coming into existence, almost entirely from his exertions. When we were with him, his favorite literary subjects were Greek and Anglo-Saxon and 2. Historical recollections of the times and events of the Revolution, and of his residence in France from 1783–1789. . . .

Jefferson's tastes.

54. ATTITUDE OF JEFFERSON TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTION

Jefferson feared that a monarchical form of government would ultimately be established in the United States. The following letter to Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, states his view on the methods which would be used by his political opponents to accomplish their purpose.—(Paul Leicester Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VII, 327. With the permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.)

I do then, with sincere zeal, wish an unviolable preservation of our present federal constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by its friends and not that which its enemies apprehended, who therefore became its enemies; and I am

opposed to the monarchising its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate a first transition to a President and Senate for life and from that to a hereditary tenure of these offices, and thus to worm out the elective principle. I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the legislature of the Union it's constitutional share in the division of powers; and I am not for transferring all the powers of the States to the general Gov't. and all those of that Gov't. to the executive branch. I am for a gov't rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing by every device, the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing. I am for relying, for internal defense on our militia, solely till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced; and not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a navy, which by its own expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burthens and sink us under them. I am for free commerce with all nations; political connection with none; and little or no diplomatic establishment, and I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe, entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.

I am for freedom of religion, and against all manœuvres to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another; for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the constitution to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents. And I am for encouraging the progress of science in all its branches.

For my own part I consider these laws as merely an experiment on the American mind, to see how far it will bear

an avowed violation of the Constitution. If this goes down we shall immediately see attempted another act of Congress, declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion the transfer of the succession to his heirs and the establishment of the Senate for life.

Alien and
Sedition
Acts.
Writings,
VII, 283.

55. FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, 1819

Thomas Jefferson was graduated from William and Mary's College. While in Europe he made a study of European universities and desired to found in America an institution for higher learning which should partake of the leading features of Edinburgh and Geneva, especially, which he called "the two eyes of Europe." In place of emphasizing Greek and Latin, as was common in the colleges of the time, he provided a large place for the sciences planned for military and technological education and for distinct professional schools of law, medicine, and other subjects.

Joseph Priestley, who was consulted by Jefferson relative to the courses of study for the University, was an English scientist who came to America in 1794 and afterwards lived in Northumberland, Pennsylvania.—(Paul Leicester Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VII, 407 *passim*.)

We have in that state a college (Wm. and Mary) just well enough endowed to draw out the miserable existence to which a miserable constitution has doomed it. It is moreover eccentric in its position, exposed to all bilious diseases as all the lower country is, and therefore abandoned by the public care, as that part of the country itself is in a considerable degree by its inhabitants. We wish to establish in the upper and healthier country, and more centrally for the state, an University on a plan so broad and liberal and modern, as to be worth patronizing with the public support, and be a temptation to the youth of other states to come and drink of the cup of knowledge and fraternize with us. The first step is to obtain a good plan; that is, a judicious selection of the sciences, and a practicable grouping of some of them together, and ramifying of others, so as to adapt the professorships to our uses and our means. In an institution meant chiefly for

Type of
university
to be es-
tablished.

use, some branches of science, formerly esteemed, may be now omitted; so may others now valued in Europe, but useless to us for ages to come. As an example of the former, the oriental learning, and of the latter, almost the whole of the institution proposed to Congress by the Secretary of war's report of the 5th inst. Now there is no one to whom this subject is so familiar as yourself. There is no one in the world who, equally with yourself, unites this full possession of the subject with such a knowledge of the state of our existence, as enables you to fit the garment to him who is to pay for it and to wear it. To you therefore we address our solicitations, and to lessen to you as much as possible the ambiguities of our object, I will venture even to sketch the sciences which seem useful and practicable for us, as they occur to me while holding my pen. Botany, Chemistry, Zoology, Anatomy, Surgery, Medicine, Natl Philosophy, Agriculture, Politics, Commerce, History, Ethics, Law, Arts, Fine-arts. This list is imperfect because I make it hastily, and because I am unequal to the subject. It is evident that some of these articles are too much for one professor and must therefore be ramified; others may be ascribed in groups to a single professor. This is the difficult part of the work, and requires a head perfectly knowing the extent of each branch, and the limits within which it may be circumscribed, so as to bring the whole within the power of the fewest professors possible, and consequently within the degree of expense practicable for us. We should propose that the professors follow no other calling, so that their whole time may be given to their academical functions; and we should propose to draw from Europe the first characters in science, by considerable temptations, which would not need to be repeated after the first set should have prepared fit successors and given reputation to the institution. From some splendid characters I have received offers most perfectly reasonable and practicable.

I do not propose to give you all this trouble merely of my own head, that would be arrogance. It has been the sub-

Sciences
and arts.

Work of
professors.

ject of consultation among the ablest and highest characters of our State, who only wait for a plan to make a joint and I hope successful effort to get the thing carried into effect. . . .

To JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 27, 1800.

Dear Sir,—In my letter of the 18th, I omitted to say anything of the languages as part of our proposed university. It was not that I think, as some do, that they are useless. I am of a very different opinion. I do not think them essential to the obtaining eminent degrees of science; but I think them very useful towards it. I suppose there is a portion of life during which our faculties are ripe enough for this, and for nothing more useful. I think the Greeks and Romans have left us the present models which exist of fine composition, whether we examine them as works of reason, or of style and fancy; and to them we probably owe these characteristics of modern composition. I know of no composition of any other ancient people, which merits the least regard as a model for its matter or style. To all this I add, that to read the Latin and Greek authors in their original, is a sublime luxury; and I deem luxury in science to be at least as justifiable as in architecture, painting, gardening, or the other arts. I enjoy Homer in his own language infinitely beyond Pope's translation of him, and both beyond the dull narrative of the same events by Dares Phrygius; and it is an innocent enjoyment. I thank on my knees, him who directed my early education, for having put into my possession this rich source of delight; and I would not exchange it for anything which I could then have acquired, and have not since acquired. With this regard for those languages, you will acquit me of meaning to omit them. About twenty years ago, I drew a bill for our legislature, which proposed to lay off every county into hundreds or townships of 5. or 6. miles square, in the centre of each of which was to be a free English school; the whole state was further laid off into 10

Language.

Plan for
State edu-
cation.

districts, in each of which was to be a college for teaching the languages, geography, surveying, and other useful things of that grade, and then a single University for the sciences. It was received with enthusiasm; but as I had proposed that Wm. and Mary, under an improved form, should be the University, and that was at that time pretty highly Episcopal, the dissenters after a while began to apprehend some secret design of a preference to that sect and nothing could then be done. About three years ago they enacted that part of my bill which related to English schools, except that instead of obliging, they left it optional in the court of every county to carry it into execution or not. I think it probable the part of the plan for the middle grade of education, may also be brought forward in due time. In the meanwhile, we are not without a sufficient number of good country schools, where the languages, geography, and the first elements of Mathematics, are taught. Having omitted this information in my former letter, I thought it necessary now to supply it, that you might know on what base your superstructure was to be reared. . . .

56. THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

President Jefferson, in January, 1803, asked Congress to appropriate twenty-five hundred dollars for an exploring expedition to the Pacific Ocean. This was granted, and Captain Meriwether Lewis, who was at the time Mr. Jefferson's private secretary, was appointed to take charge of the expedition. Captain Lewis desired to have Captain William Clark, the younger brother of George Rogers Clark, accompany him. On July 5, a few days after the news was received of the purchase of Louisiana, Captain Lewis set out from Washington. The winter was passed on the east side of the Mississippi River, nearly opposite the mouth of the Missouri. May 14, 1804, the party began their journey up the Missouri.—(Paul Allen, *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. From the *Journal of Lewis and Clark*, I, 53 *passim*; II, 83 *passim*, in M'Vickar abridgment, 1855.)

The party. The party consisted of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers of the United States army, who volunteered

their services, two French watermen (an interpreter and hunter) and a black servant belonging to Captain Clark. All these, except the last, were enlisted to serve as privates during the expedition, and three sergeants appointed from among them by the captains. In addition to these were engaged a corporal and six soldiers, and nine watermen, to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan nation, in order to assist in carrying the stores or repelling an attack, which was most to be apprehended between Wood River and that tribe. The necessary stores were subdivided into seven bales and one box, containing a small portion of each article in case of accident. They consisted of a great variety of clothing, working utensils, locks, flints, powder, ball, and articles of the greatest use. To these were added fourteen bales and one box of Indian presents, distributed in the same manner, and composed of richly-laced coats and other articles of dress, medals, flags, knives, and tomahawks for the chiefs; ornaments of different kinds, particularly beads, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, paints, and, generally, such articles as were deemed best calculated for the taste of the Indians. The party was to embark on board of boats: the first was a keel-boat fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet water, carrying one large square-sail and twenty-two oars; a deck of ten feet in the bow and stern formed a forecastle and cabin, while the middle was covered by lockers, which might be raised so as to form a breastwork in case of attack. This was accompanied by two piroques or open boats, one of six and the other of seven oars. Two horses were at the same time to be led along the banks of the river, for the purpose of bringing home game, or hunting in case of scarcity. . . .

The outfit.

Boats.

June 24, he sent J. Fields up the river, with orders to go four miles and return, whether he found the two absent hunters or not. Then, descending the southwest side of Medicine River, he crossed the Missouri in the canoe, and sent Shannon back to his camp to join Fields, and bring the meat which they had killed: this they did, and arrived in the evening at the camp at White Bear Islands. Part of the

Some of the hard-ships.

men from Portage Creek also arrived with two canoes and baggage. On going down yesterday, Captain Clark cut off several angles of the former route, so as to shorten the portage considerably, and marked it with stakes: he arrived there in time to have two of the canoes carried up in the high plain, about a mile in advance. Here they all repaired their moccasins, and put on double soles to protect them from the prickly-pear, and from the sharp points of earth which have been formed by the trampling of the buffalo during the late rains. This of itself is sufficient to render the portage disagreeable to one who had no burden; but, as the men are loaded as heavily as their strength will permit, the crossing is really painful. Some are limping with the soreness of their feet; others are scarcely able to stand for more than a few minutes from the heat and fatigue; they are all obliged to halt and rest frequently; and at almost every stopping-place they fall, and many of them are asleep in an instant; yet no one complains, and they go on with great cheerfulness. At their camp Drewyer and Fields joined them; and, while Captain Lewis was looking for them at Medicine River, they returned to report the absence of Shannon, about whom they had been very uneasy. They had killed several buffalo at the bend of the Missouri above the falls, and dried about eight hundred pounds of meat, and got one hundred pounds of tallow: they had also killed some deer, but had seen no elk. After getting the party in motion with the canoes, Captain Clark returned to his camp at Portage Creek. . . .

July 28. Captain Clark continued very unwell during the night, but was somewhat relieved this morning. On examining the two streams, it became difficult to decide which was the larger, or the real Missouri: they are each ninety yards wide, and so perfectly similar in character and appearance that they seem to have been formed in the same mould. We were therefore induced to discontinue the name of Missouri, and give to the southwest branch the name of Jefferson, in honor of the President of the United States, the projector

of the enterprise; and called the middle branch Madison, after James Madison, secretary of state. These two, as well as Gallatin River, run with great velocity, and throw out large bodies of water. Gallatin River is, however, the most rapid of the three, and, though not quite as deep, navigable for a considerable distance. Madison River, though much less rapid than the Gallatin, is somewhat more rapid than the Jefferson: the beds of all of them are formed of smooth pebble and gravel, and the waters are perfectly transparent. . . .

The greater part of the men, having yesterday put their deerskins in water, were this day engaged in dressing them, for the purpose of making clothing. . . .

July 30. Captain Clark was this morning much restored; and, therefore, having made all the observations necessary to fix the longitude, we reloaded our canoes, and began to ascend Jefferson River. . . .

Here, as had been previously arranged, Captain Lewis left us, with Sergeant Gass, Chaboneau, and Drewyer, intending to go in advance in search of the Shoshonees. . . .

In the mean time we proceeded on slowly, the current being so strong as to require the utmost exertions of the men to make any advance, even with the aid of the cord and pole, the wind being from the northwest. The channel, current, banks, and general appearance of the river are like that of yesterday. . . .

From a careful observation of the direction and character of these streams, he became satisfied that the middle one was the best to be taken by the canoes, and left a note for Captain Clark to that effect. The party in the canoes proceeded onward as usual, finding but little change in the country, killing game as they had opportunity for their subsistence, and encountering many difficulties from the ripples and shoals of the river. The men were becoming much enfeebled from the severity of their labours and being constantly in the water. . . .

We arrived at the forks about four o'clock, but, unluck-

ily, Captain Lewis's note had been attached to a green pole, which the beaver had cut down, and carried off with the note on it: an accident which deprived us of all information as to the character of the two branches of the river. Observing, therefore, that the northwest fork was most in our direction, we ascended it. We found it extremely rapid, and its waters were scattered in such a manner that for a quarter of a mile we were forced to cut a passage through the willow-brush that leaned over the little channels and united at the top. After going up it for a mile, we encamped on an island which had been overflowed, and was still so wet that we were compelled to make beds of brush to keep ourselves out of the mud. Our provision consisted of two deer which had been killed in the morning. . . . Here we were joined by Drewyer, who informed us of the state of the two streams, and of Captain Lewis's note, when we immediately began to descend the river, in order to take the other branch. In going down one of the canoes upset, and two others were filled with water, by which all the baggage was wet, and several articles irrevocably lost. As one of them swung round in a rapid current, Whitehouse was thrown out of her, and while down the canoe passed over him, and, had the water been two inches shallower, would have crushed him to pieces; but he escaped with a severe bruise of the leg. In order to repair these misfortunes, we hastened to the forks, where we were joined by Captain Lewis. . . . We were now completely satisfied that the middle branch was the most navigable, and the true continuation of the Jefferson. The northwest fork seems to be the drain of the melting snows of the mountains: we called it Wisdom River. . . .

Beaver's
Head.

On our right is the point of a high plain, which our Indian woman recognizes as the place called the Beaver's Head, from a supposed resemblance to that object. This, she says, is not far from the summer retreat of her countrymen, which is on a river beyond the mountains, and running to the west. She is therefore certain that we shall meet them either on this river or on that immediately west of its source, which,

judging from its present size, cannot be far distant. Persuaded of the absolute necessity of procuring horses to cross the mountains, it was determined that one of us should proceed in the morning to the head of the river, and penetrate the mountains till he found the Shoshonees or some other nation who can assist us in transporting our baggage, the greater part of which we shall be compelled to leave without the aid of horses. . . . From the foot of one of the lowest of these mountains, which rises with a gentle ascent of about half a mile, issues the remotest water of the Missouri.

Search for the Shoshonees.

Head-waters of the Missouri.

They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never before been seen by civilized man; and as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain—as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, which yielded its distant and modest tribute to the parent ocean, they felt themselves rewarded for all their labours and all their difficulties. They left reluctantly this interesting spot, and, pursuing the Indian road through the interval of the hills, arrived at the top of a ridge, from which they saw high mountains, partially covered with snow, still to the west of them.

The ridge on which they stood formed the dividing-line between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. They followed a descent much steeper than that on the eastern side, and at the distance of three quarters of a mile reached a handsome, bold creek of cold, clear water running to the westward. They stopped to taste, for the first time, the waters of the Columbia; and, after a few minutes, followed the road across steep hills and low hollows, when they came to a spring on the side of a mountain. Here they found a sufficient quantity of dry willow-brush for fuel, and therefore halted for the night; and, having killed nothing in the course of the day, supped on their last piece of pork, and trusted to fortune for some other food to mix with a little flour and parched meal which was all that now remained of their provisions. . . . In this way they marched two miles, when they met a troop of nearly sixty warriors, mounted on

Head-waters of the Columbia.

The Sho-
shonees.

excellent horses, riding at full speed towards them. As they came forward, Captain Lewis put down his gun, and went with the flag about fifty paces in advance. The chief, who with two men was riding in front of the main body, spoke to the women, who now explained that the party was composed of white men, and showed exultingly the presents they had received. The three men immediately leaped from their horses, came up to Captain Lewis, and embraced him with great cordiality, putting their left arm over his right shoulder, and clasping his back, applying at the same time their left cheek to his, and frequently vociferating "ah hi e! ah hi e!" "I am much pleased, I am much rejoiced." The whole body of warriors now came forward, and our men received the caresses, and no small share of the grease and paint, of their new friends. After this fraternal embrace, of which the motive was much more agreeable than the manner, Captain Lewis lighted a pipe, and offered it to the Indians, who had now seated themselves in a circle around the party. . . .

This rapid forms the last of the descents of the Columbia; and immediately below it the river widens, and tide-water commences. . . .

Reach the
Pacific
Ocean.

November 7. The morning, proceeds the narrative, was rainy, and the fog so thick that we could not see across the river. . . . We had not gone far from this village when, the fog suddenly clearing away, we were at last presented with the glorious sight of the ocean—that ocean, the object of all our labours, the reward of all our anxieties. This animating sight exhilarated the spirits of all the party, who were still more delighted on hearing the distant roar of the breakers. We went on with great cheerfulness along the high, mountainous country which bordered the right bank: the shore, however, was so bold and rocky, that we could not, until at a distance of fourteen miles from the last village, find any spot fit for an encampment. Having made during the day thirty-four miles, we now spread our mats on the ground, and passed the night in the rain. Here we were joined by

our small canoe, which had been separated from us during the fog this morning. . . .

Having now examined the coast, it became necessary to decide on the spot for our winter-quarters. . . .

57. ROBERT FULTON AND THE FIRST STEAMBOAT

Experiments made by two Americans, James Rumsey (1785) and John Fitch (1790), proved that boats could be driven by steam. In 1804 Oliver Evans experimented with a stern-wheel steamboat on the Delaware River, and at the same time John C. Stevens was experimenting with a screw propeller on the Hudson. When he was asked what was the greatest event of the nineteenth century, Lord Acton; then Professor of History at Cambridge, England, is said to have answered: "The accidental sinking of Fulton's steamer in the River Seine in 1804. If it had been successful Napoleon would have been able to land his forces wherever he pleased and the conquest of the British Isles might have followed." Robert Fulton, a native of Pennsylvania, at the close of the Revolution, went to England, where he was engaged for a time as a painter of portraits. In 1793 he assisted James Watt in the construction of steam-engines. In 1794 he went to Paris, where, with the assistance of Robert R. Livingston, he constructed a steamboat. The first trial of the boat before a committee appointed by Napoleon was a failure. Later trials were successful, but Napoleon took no further interest in it. Fulton returned to America and again aided by Livingston constructed the *Clermont*.

The writer of the following account was a Scotchman who travelled extensively in America.—(James Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, I, 45 *passim*. Glasgow, 1833.)

Fulton, who unquestionably had the merit, the great merit, of accomplishing what many ingenious men had previously unsuccessfully attempted, is well entitled to the lasting gratitude of the people of the United States; and it will not be to their credit, if the general government do not, in the end, make some great and liberal provision for the family of an individual, who was so great a benefactor of his own country, and of the world. It is as well established, that Fulton first of all adapted the steam engine to the model of such a vessel as would answer the purpose, as that many able men had previously pretty clearly perceived that the thing was

Honor due
Fulton.

possible, although they could not exactly hit on the method of doing it. . . .

Aids to
Fulton.

It was thus undoubtedly left for Fulton, in the nineteenth century, to confer on his country and the world the great boon of steam navigation; but let those who assisted him have their due share of praise. Henry Bell of Glasgow either gave him the model of the vessel which made the first voyage, or aided him most materially in her construction. Messrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co. of Birmingham, manufactured the engine used in her. And Chancellor Livingston, of the state of New York, encouraged the undertaking, although at the time laughed at as a wild speculation, and assisted Fulton with the pecuniary means for carrying it into execution. The difficulties he after all encountered were such, that, though the engine was furnished in the year 1804, it was not until the summer of 1807 that it was put to use in the vessel, the *Clermont*, of 160 tons, in which, on the Hudson, the first steamboat voyage in the world was made. Fulton's letter to his friend, Joel Barlow, giving an account of that experimental voyage, is extremely interesting.

"NEW YORK, August 2, 1807.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

Trip to
Albany.

"My steamboat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favourable than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is 150 miles; I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty hours; the latter is just five miles an hour. I had a light breeze against me the whole way going and coming, so that no use was made of my sails, and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and passed them as if they had been at anchor.

"The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York, there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour, or be of the least utility;

and while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way, you know, in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors.

"Having employed much time, and money and zeal, in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it so fully answer my expectations. It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to merchandise on the Mississippi and Missouri, and other great rivers, which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen. And although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting with you on the immense advantage that my country will derive from the invention."

Fulton's plans.

It is not very creditable to the spirit of enterprise, for which Great Britain and the United States, the two greatest commercial nations, take credit, to find that several years elapsed after the power of propelling vessels by steam was thus in 1807 completely proved, before any attempt to construct a steam-vessel in Britain was made, and before steamboats appeared on the great western rivers of America, for the navigation of which they are, above all, admirably calculated. . . .

Progress in use of steamboat not rapid.

The State of New York was early sensible of the great services which Fulton had rendered; and conferred on him a most valuable monopoly,—the exclusive right to navigate in the waters of the state with steam-vessels for a term of years; if I remember right, till the year 1838. It was subsequently, indeed, found, after a keen litigation in the supreme court of the United States, that no separate state could establish such a monopoly,—the general government alone having power, by the American constitution, "to regulate commerce among the several states." New York state, however, it is undeniable, showed their feeling of lasting obligation to their meritorious countryman, and their desire to see him suitably rewarded; . . .

Monopoly granted by New York.

58. INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT MADISON

From the Diaries and Family Letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith.—(Scribner's Magazine, XL, September, 1906, p. 299 *passim*.)

Presi-
dent's re-
ception.

To-day after the inauguration, we all went to Mrs. Madison's. The street was full of carriages and people, and we had to wait near half an hour, before we could get in,—the house was completely filled, parlours, entry, drawing room and bed room. Near the door of the drawing room Mr. and Mrs. Madison stood to receive their company. She looked extremely beautiful, was drest in a plain cambric dress with a very long train, plain round the neck without any handkerchief, and beautiful bonnet of purple velvet, and white satin with white plumes. She was all dignity, grace, and affability. Mr. Madison shook my hand with the cordiality of old acquaintance. The crowd was immense both at the Capitol & here, thousands & thousands of people thronged the avenue. The Capitol presented a gay scene. Every inch of space was crowded & there being as many ladies as gentlemen, all in full dress, it gave it rather a gay than a solemn appearance,—there was an attempt made to appropriate particular seats for the ladies of public characters, but it was found impossible to carry it into effect, for the sovereign people would not resign their privileges & the high & low were promiscuously blended on the floor & in the galleries.

Inaugural
address.

Mr. Madison was extremely pale & trembled excessively when he first began to speak, but soon gained confidence & spoke audibly. From the Capitol we went to Mrs. M's, & from there to Mr. Jefferson's.

Sunday morning. Well, my dear Susan, the chapter draws to a close. Last night concluded the important day, on which our country received a new magistrate. To a philosopher, who while he contemplated the scene, revolved past ages in his mind, it must have been a pleasing sight. A citizen, chosen from among his equals, and quietly and unanimously

elevated to a power, which in other countries and in all ages of the world has cost so much blood to attain!

Last evening, I endeavored calmly to look on, and amidst the noise, bustle and crowd, to spend an hour or two in sober reflection.

The room was so terribly crowded that we had to stand on benches; from this situation we had a view of the moving mass, for it was nothing else. It was scarcely possible to elbow your way from one side to another, & poor Mrs. Madison was almost pressed to death, for every one crowded round her, those behind pressing on those before & peeping over their shoulders to have a peep of her, & those who were so fortunate as to get near enough to speak to her were happy indeed. As the upper sashes of the windows could not let down, the glass was broken, to ventilate the room, the air of which had become oppressive, but here I begin again at the end of the story. Well, to make up for it I will begin at the beginning. When we went there were not above 50 persons in the room, we were led to benches at the upper fire place.

First inaugural ball.

Not long afterwards, the musick struck up Jefferson's March, & he & Mr. Coles entered. He spoke to all whom he knew, & was quite the plain, unassuming citizen. Madison's March was then played & Mrs. Madison led in by one of the managers & Mrs. Cutts & Mr. Madison, she was led to the part of the room where we happened to be, so that I accidentally was placed next her. She looked a queen. She had on a pale buff colored velvet, made plain, with a very long train, but not the least trimming, & beautiful pearl necklace, earrings & bracelets. Her head dress was a turban of the same coloured velvet & white satin (from Paris) with two superb plumes, the bird of paradise feathers.

It would be *absolutely impossible* for any one to behave with more perfect propriety than she did. Unassuming dignity, sweetness, grace. It seems to me that such manners would disarm envy itself, & conciliate even enemies. The

managers presented her with the first number,—“But what shall I do with it?” said she, “I do not dance.” “Give it to your neighbor,” said Capt. Tingey. “Oh no,” said she, “that would look like partiality.” “Then I will” said the Capt. & he presented it to Mrs. Cutts. I really admired this in Mrs. M. She was led to supper by the French minister, Mrs. Cutts by the English minister, she sat at the centre of the table, which was a crescent, the French and English ministers on each hand, Mrs. Cutts the next on the right hand, Mrs. Smith the next on the left and Mr. Madison on the other side of the table opposite Mrs. M. I chose a place where I could see Mrs. M. to advantage. She really in manners and appearance, answered all my ideas of royalty. She was so equally gracious to both French and English, and so affable to all. I suspect Mrs. Smith could not like the superiority of Mrs. Cutts, and if I am not mistaken, Mrs. Madison’s — causes her some heart burnings. Mr. Jefferson did not stay above two hours; he seemed in high spirits and his countenance beamed with a benevolent joy. I do believe father never loved son more than he loves Mr. Madison, and I believe too that every demonstration of respect to Mr. M. gave Mr. J. more pleasure than if paid to himself. Oh he is a good man! And the day will come when all party spirit shall expire, that every citizen of the United States will join in saying “He is a good man.” Mr. Madison, on the contrary, seemed spiritless and exhausted. While he was standing by me I said “I wish with all my heart I had a little bit of seat to offer you.” “I wish so too,” said he, with a most woe begone face, and looking as if he could scarcely stand,—the managers came up to ask him to stay to supper, he assented, and turning to me, “but I would much rather be in bed” said he. Immediately after supper Mr. and Mrs. M. withdrew, the rest of the company danced until 12, the moment the clock struck that hour, the music stopped, and we all came home tired and sick. “And such,” said I, as I threw myself on the bed, “such are the gait and pleasures of the world! Oh give me the solitude of our cot-

tage, where after a day well spent, I lay down so tranquil and cheerful." Never do I recollect one night, retiring with such a vacuum, such a dissatisfied craving, such a restlessness of spirit, such undefined, vague desires, as I now do.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WAR OF 1812

59. BRITISH JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR OF 1812

(Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, First Series, Vol. 24, 374-7.)

Declaration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent Relative to the Causes and Origin of the War with America.

After this exposition of the circumstances which preceded, and which have followed the declaration of war by the United States, His royal highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, feels himself called upon to declare the leading principles, by which the conduct of Great Britain has been regulated in the transactions connected with these discussions.

Blockade
legal.

His Royal Highness can never acknowledge any blockade whatsoever to be illegal, which has been duly notified, and is supported by an adequate force, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the forts or coasts blockaded, are not at the same time invested by land.

Neutral
trade.

His Royal Highness can never admit, that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power whatever to be denationalized.

His Royal Highness can never admit, that Great Britain can be debarred of its right of just and necessary retaliation, through the fear of eventually affecting the interest of a neutral.

Right of
search.

His Royal Highness can never admit, that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto disputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, the impressment of

British seamen, when found therein can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag. Neither can he admit, that the taking such seamen from on board such vessels, can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure, or a justifiable cause of war.

There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline, and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey: it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence. . . .

Natural-
ization of
British
seamen
denied.

But, if to the practice of the United States to harbour British seamen, be added their assumed right, to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory, as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States would be to expose to danger the very foundation of our maritime strength. . . .

The government of America, if the difference between States are not interminable, has as little right to notice the affair of the *Chesapeake*. The aggression, in this instance, on the part of a British officer, was acknowledged, his conduct was disapproved, and a reparation was regularly tendered by Mr. Foster on the part of his Majesty, and accepted by the government of the United States.

The *Ches-*
apeake.

It is not less unwarranted in its allusion to the mission of Mr. Henry; a mission undertaken without the authority, or even knowledge of his Majesty's government and which Mr. Foster was authorized formally and officially to disavow.

The charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation. Before the war began, a policy the most opposite had been uniformly pursued, and proof of this was tendered by Mr. Foster to the American government.

British
and
Indians.

United
States and
France.

Such are the causes of war which have been put forward by the government of the United States. But the real origin of the present contest will be found in the spirit, which has long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States: their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavours to inflame their people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations. It is through the prevalence of such councils, that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain.

And under what conduct on the part of France has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800, between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes in every harbour subject to the control of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnations under the Rambouillet Decree, antedated or concealed to render it the more effectual: The French commercial regulations which render the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French Decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France produce from the government of the United States, only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission, or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations.

This disposition of the government of the United States—This complete subserviency to the ruler of France—This hostile temper towards Great Britain—are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government.

Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the Prince Regent solemnly protests. Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, his Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States were the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument, and abettor of French tyranny.

Disappointed in this his just expectation, the Prince Regent will still pursue the policy, which the British Government has so long, and invariably maintained, in repelling injustice, and in supporting the general rights of nations; and, under the favour of Providence, relying on the justice of his Cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British Nation, his Royal Highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue to the contest, in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage.

Westminster, Jan. 9, 1813.

PARLIAMENT AND WAR WITH AMERICA

(From the London Courier of February 19, 1813. Quoted in Niles, *Weekly Register*, vol. IV, 136.)

“An unanimous vote of both houses of Parliament last night, approved of the war with America sanctioning its justice, and determined to support the government in a vigorous prosecution of it. We conceive, and heartily congratulate the country upon it, that Parliament did last night, give a solemn pledge to the people of the British empire, that at no time under no circumstances, for no advantages, political or commercial, however great, will it yield, barter or fetter the exercise of our great maritime rights—the right of search and the right of impressment.”

60. FAVORABLE VIEW OF WAR

(Niles, Weekly Register, II, 208, 209.)

Just cause
for war.

Every considerate and unprejudiced man, in every part of the union, freely admits we have just cause for war with both the great belligerents, and especially England; whose mara-time depredations are not only far more extensive than those of her rival, but who has superadded thereto the most flagrant violations of the individual, national, and territorial rights of the American people; matters of much higher import and consequence. But a state of war is desired by no man; though most men agree it is not "the greatest of evils." . . .

Submis-
sion of
Americans
to abuses.

It is very certain that no good citizen of the United States would wantonly promote a rupture with Great Britain, or any other country. The American people will never wage offensive war; but every feeling of the heart is interested to preserve the rights our fathers won by countless hardships and innumerable sufferings. Our love of peace is known to the world; nay, so powerful is the desire to preserve it, that it has been laughingly said, even in the hall of congress, that "we cannot be kick'd into war." Every measure that Forbearance could devise, has been resorted to—and we have suffered injuries, particularly in the stealth of our citizens, which no independent nation ever submitted to. Embargo was tried: through the timidity of the 10th Congress, excited by the insolent clamors of a small, but wicked, portion of the people, aided by the inefficiency of the laws for enforcing it, it failed of its foreign operation. Since that time we have virtually submitted, and thereby only lengthened the chain of encroachment. As has been before observed, we are driven into a corner, and must surrender at the discretion of a wicked and unprincipled enemy, or hew our way out of it—the hazard of life itself is preferable to the certain loss of all that makes it desirable. . . .

To us she is the most vulnerable of all nations—we can successfully attack her at home and abroad. War will de-

prive her of an immense stock of raw materials, on the manufacture and application of which so great a portion of her population depends for subsistence; and, in despite of smugglers, the ingress of her manufactures will be denied, for a state of activity and exertion far different from that at present made use of, will be arrayed against them. Already are her laboring poor in a state of general disaffection for the want of bread and lack of employment. The military power is daily made use of to keep them in subordination. To what extremes might the desperation of the starving wretches lead them, if to their present privations were added those which must ensue from a war with these states?

Great Britain open to attack.

English conditions.

The conquest of Canada will be of the highest importance to us in distressing our enemy—in cutting off his supplies of provisions and naval stores for his West India colonies and home demand. There is no place from whence he can supply the mighty void that would be occasioned by the loss of this country, as well in his exports as imports. It would operate upon him with a double force: it would deprive him of a vast quantity of indispensable materials (as well as of food) and close an extensive market for his manufactures.—On its retention depends the prosperity of the West India islands.—At war with the United States, and divested of supplies of lumber and provisions from Canada, their commerce would be totally ruined; and it is of far more importance to the British government than all their possessions in the East. Besides it would nullify his boast, “that he has not lost an inch of territory.” Canada and Nova Scotia, if not fully conquered immediately, may be rendered useless to him in a few weeks. Without them, and particularly the latter, he cannot maintain those terrible fleets on our coast that we are threatened with, or “bridge” our harbors with frigates, admitting he may have no use for them to defend his own shores; for he will not have a dock yard, fitting the purposes of his navy, within 3000 miles of us. . . .

Conquest of Canada certain.

The war will not last long. Every scheme of taxation has already been resorted to in Great Britain. Every means have

War will be short.

been tried to sustain the credit of her immense paper currency. The notes of the bank of England are 28 per cent below their nominal value. A war with the United States will add a third to her present expenditures, at least; and, in a like proportion render her unable to bear them.—Her revenue will decrease as her expenses increase; for she will lose all the export and import duties she levied on goods sent to or received from the United States, and all her resources, built upon commerce will be fluctuating and uncertain. She will be assailed on that element she arrogantly assumes as her own, and be perplexed in a thousand new forms, by a people as brave and more enterprising and ingenious than any she can boast of. Her seamen once landed upon our shores, as prisoners or otherwise, will not return to her; and her naval officers will rarely feel themselves safe from mutiny while hovering on our coasts. It is considered lawful in war to encourage such enterprises; and her impressed seamen, sure of our asylum, with “peace, liberty, and safety,” will retort upon their oppressors some of the pangs they have suffered.—Tens of thousands of her former subjects, natives of generous and oppressed Erin, will remember the conflagration of their cottages and the murder of their friends, and vie with each other to avenge their wrongs: and Britain, to preserve herself, will be compelled to honest peace.

During the war there will be ample employment for all. Some part of the labor and capital of the United States, at present devoted to commerce, will be directed to objects calculated to seal the independence of the country, in the establishment of a thousand works, needful to the supply of our wants.—Many years must elapse before any shall, of necessity, be idle because he cannot find enough to do; and the contest itself will create new sources of emolument. Some changes in the habits of the people on the sea board (a small part of our population) may take place; but there will be nothing terrible in them. Our agriculturalists will have a steady and better market at home: of this we are easily assured when we reflect that all our provisions exported have

Develop-
ment of
manufac-
tures.

not produced more than paid for the foreign liquors we consumed. Instead of sending tobacco, (the most wretched crop of all others ever raised) to the fluctuating markets of Europe, we will furnish ourselves, and (in a short time) the whole world, with wool; and apply the extra laborers to its manufacture—a state of things that will have a powerful tendency to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate negro, equally profitable to his master. The bonds which fasten us to Europe will be broken, and our trade and future intercourse with her be materially and beneficially changed.

The political atmosphere being purged, a greater degree of harmony will exist; and the regenerated spirit of freedom will teach us to love, to cherish and support our unparalleled system of government, as with the mind of one man. The hydra party, generated by foreign feelings, will die in agonies. The “new army” will be chiefly employed in the conquered countries, or on the frontiers, and the protection of the states, generally, be confided to the people themselves, who are not “their own worst enemies.” Neither the men beyond “the Potomac,” nor on this side of that river, are the instigators of the war—the causes for it exist in the conduct of the cabinet of St. James’, nourished and cherished by the false hopes they entertain of the strength of “their party” in the United States.

Political
harmony
will ensue.

Money will not be wanting. The people will freely supply it when there is need for it. Our country is rich. Our resources are great. Our specie is abundant, and will greatly increase by opening a direct trade with Mexico; and so serve ourselves and the patriots of that country by furnishing them with arms and ammunition and stores, and enable them to drive out their many-headed tyrant. Numerous hardy volunteers, as true as ever pulled a trigger, will flock to their standard, from the western states—and encourage in them an affection for this government and teach them how free men should fight.

Money
plentiful.

But the money drawn from the people, either by loans or moderate taxes, will not moulder away and perish; it will

immediately revert to them, and always be ready, by a perpetual motion, to supply the wants of the government. In fact, the great probability is, that money will be much more plenty, as the common saying is, in a state of war than it is at this time. . . .

61. THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON, 1814

(Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, *Diaries and Family Letters*, edited by Gaillard Hunt, *Scribner's Magazine*, XL, October, 1906, 425-437.)

August [1814], Brookville [Md.].

Inhabitants leave Washington.

On Sunday we received information that the British had debark'd at Benedict. They seem'd in no haste to approach the city, but gave us time to collect our troops. The alarm was such that on Monday a general removal from the city & George Town took place. Very few women or children remain'd in the city on Tuesday evening, altho' the accounts then received were that the enemy were retreating. Our troops were eager for an attack & such was the cheerful alacrity they display'd, that a universal confidence reign'd among the citizens & people. Few doubted our conquering. On Tuesday we sent off to a private farm house all our linen, clothing & other movable property, in the afternoon Dr. Bradley's family came from the city & took tea with us,—the Dr. said several citizens from the camp brought information of the enemy's remaining quiet at N. Malborough, but that 3 of the volunteer companies, . . .,* Davidsons & Peters were order'd to attack the Pickets & draw the B—— on to a general engagement. This was the last news; until we were roused on Tuesday night by a loud knocking,—on the opening of the door, Willie Bradley called to us, "The enemy are advancing, our own troops are giving way on all sides & are retreating to the city. Go, for Gods sake go." † He spoke in a voice of agony, & then flew to his horse & was out of sight in a moment. We immediately rose, the carriage &

* Illegible.

† The battle took place August 24.

horses were soon ready, we loaded a wagon with what goods remained & about 3 o'clock left our house with all our servants, the women we sent to some private farm houses at a safe distance, while we pursued our course. I felt no alarm or agitation, as I knew the danger was not near. I even felt no distress at the idea of forsaking our home. I could not realize the possibility of the B. gaining possession of the city, or of our army being defeated. We travel'd very slowly & as it was dark I walk'd part of the way. Ann was equally composed. At sunrise we stop'd to breakfast at Miss Carrol's & then pursued our journey. The girls were quite delighted with our flight, novelty has such charms at their age, that even the exchange of comfort & peace, for suffering & distress, has its charms. Even for myself, I felt animated, invigorated, willing to encounter any hardship, calmly to meet any danger, patiently to bear any difficulty. I suffer'd considerably pain during the ride & fear'd every moment being taken ill, but happily I was not, & we all reach'd this place at one oclock in perfect health. We received a most kind reception from Mrs. Bently, & excellent accomodations. The appearance of this village is romantic & beautiful, it is situated in a little valley totally embosom'd in woody hills, with a stream flowing at the bottom on which are mills. In this secluded spot one might hope the noise, or rumour of war would never reach. . . .

Thursday morning. This morning on awakening we were greeted with the sad news, that our city was taken, the bridges & public buildings burnt, our troops flying in every direction. Our little army totally dispersed. Good God, what will be the event! This moment a troop of horse have enter'd, they were on the field of battle, but not engag'd. Major Ridgely* their commander, disapproving Genl. Winder's order, refused to obey, left the army & is taking his troops home. . . .

City
burned.

Just as we were going to dinner, a tremendous gust arose, it has broken the trees very much, in the midst of it, a wagon came to the door with a family going they knew not whither.

* One of the Maryland militia officers.

Poor wanderers. Oh how changed are my feelings, my confidence in our troops is gone, they may again be rallied, but it will require a long apprenticeship to make them good soldiers. Oh my sister how gloomy is the scene. I do not suppose Government will ever return to Washington. All those whose property was invested in that place, will be reduced to poverty. Mr. Smith had invested a large portion of his in bridge stock,—both the bridges are destroy'd,—it serves to beguile the time to write, so my dear sister I will write a kind of journal to you, & send it when I can. I wish you to keep it. If better times come, it will serve to remind me of these. . . .

. . . I am afraid the consequence of leaving the house empty will be its destruction. Our house in the city too is unprotected & contains our most valuable furniture. In a week more & we may be penniless! For I count little on the continuance of Mr. S's salary. God only knows when the executive government will again be organized. But I can say with truth, the individual loss of property, has not given me a moment's uneasiness. But the state of our country, has wrung tears of anguish from me. I trust it will only be momentary. We are naturally a brave people & it was not so much fear, as prudence which caused our retreat. Too late they discovered the dispreparation of our troops. The enemy were 3 to 1. Their army composed of conquering veterans, ours of young mechanics & farmers, many of whom had never before carried a musket. But we shall learn the dreadful, horrid trade of war. And they will make us a martial people, for never, never will Americans give up their liberty. But before that time comes, what sufferings, what reverses, what distress must be suffer'd. Already, in one night, have hundreds of our citizens been reduced from affluence to poverty, for it is not to be expected W—— will ever again be the seat of Govt. Last night the woods round the city & G. T—— were filled with women & children & old men & our flying troops. One poor woman, after wandering all night, found at day light she wander'd 10 miles,—a lady in our neighbour-

American
troops
inferior.

hood, the wife of one of Mr. S.'s clerks went out of her senses, her son was in the army. Mrs. Genl. Mason, that lovely woman whom you knew, is likewise laying dangerously ill. Her husband was in the engagement & her anxiety has rendered a common fever dangerous. I am going to-morrow to see her.

Night, 10 o'clock. The streets of this quiet village, which never before witnessed confusion, is now fill'd with carriages bringing out citizens, & Baggage waggons & troops. Mrs. Bentley's house is now crowded, she has been the whole evening sitting at the supper table, giving refreshment to soldiers & travellers. I suppose every house in the village is equally full. I never saw more benevolent people. "It is against our principles," said she this morning, "to have anything to do with war, but we receive & relieve all who come to us." The whole settlement are quakers. The table is just spread for the 4th or 5th time, more wanderers having just entered. . . .

General
confusion.

Just at bed time the Presd. had arrived & all hands went to work to prepare supper & lodgings for him, his companions & guards,—beds were spread in the parlour, the house was filled & guards placed round the house during the night. A large troop of horse likewise arrived & encamp'd for the night, beside the mill-wall in a beautiful little plain, so embosom'd in woods & hills. The tents were scatter'd along the riverlet & the fires they kindled on the ground & the lights within the tents had a beautiful appearance. All the villagers, gentlemen & ladies, young & old, throng'd to see the President. He was tranquil as usual, & tho' much distressed by the dreadful event, which had taken place not dispirited. He advised Mr. Smith to return to the city, whither he was himself going. Mr. Monroe & some other gentlemen join'd him & about noon he set off for our suffering city. The rest of the day we pass'd tranquilly. It is now night, all around is quiet. All the inhabitants of this peaceful village sleep in peace. How silent! How serene! the moonlight gilds the romantic landscape that spreads

around me. Oh my God, what a contrast is this repose of nature, to the turbulence of society. How much more dreadful is the war of man with man, than the strife of elements. On Thursday the hurricane which blew down houses, tore up trees & spread terror around, pass'd in a few minutes & nature recovered her tranquility. But oh my country, when will the destroying tempest which is now ravaging & destroying thy property & happiness, when will that be hushed to peace! At this moment, escaped from danger, I, & my family, all I hold most dear, are safe. But when I think of my good fellow citizens, when I think of our poor soldiers, flying on every part, sinking under fatigue & pain & hunger, dying alone & unknown, scattered in woods & fields—when I think of these horrors, I can hardly enjoy my own security. . . .

Destruction in the city.

. . . We afterwards look'd at the other public buildings, but none were so thoroughly destroy'd as the House of Representatives & the President's House. Those beautiful pillars in that R—Hall were crack'd & broken, the roof, that noble dome, painted & carved with such beauty & skill, lay in ashes in the cellars beneath the smouldering ruins, were yet smoking. In the P. H. not an inch, but its crack'd & blacken'd walls remain'd. That scene, which when I last visited it, was so splendid, throng'd with the great, the gay, the ambitious placemen, & patriotic Heros was now nothing but ashes, & was it these ashes, now trodden under foot by the rabble, which once possess'd the power to inflate pride, to gratify vanity. Did we ever honour the inhabitants of this ruin the more for their splendid habitation,—was this an object of desire, ambition, envy? Alas, yes, and this is human grandeur! How fragile, how transitory! Who would have thought that this mass so solid, so magnificent, so grand, which seem'd built for generations to come, should by the hands of a few men & in the space of a few hours, be thus irreparably destroy'd. Oh vanity of human hopes! After this melancholy survey, Mr. Smith went to see the President, who was at Mr. Cutts' (his brother in law) where we found Mrs. Madison & her sister Mrs. Cutts. Mrs. M. seem'd

much depress'd, she could scarcely speak without tears. She told me she had remained in the city till a few hours before the English enter'd. She was so confident of Victory that she was calmly listening to the roar of cannon, & watching the rockets in the air, when she perceived our troops rushing into the city, with the haste & dismay of a routed force. The friends with her then hurried her away, (her carriage being previously ready) & she with many other families, among whom was Mrs. Thornton & Mrs. Cutting with her, retreated with the flying army. In George town they perceived some men before them carrying off the picture of Genl Washington (the large one by Stewart) which with the plate, was all that was saved out of the President's house. Mrs. M. lost all her own property. The wine, of which there was a great quantity, was consumed by our own soldiers. . . .

. . . And this could have been done, & our poor soldiers were willing & able for any enterprise, but their commanders, —Ah their commanders, Armstrong & Winder—on their shoulders lies the blame of our disastrous flight & defeat. Our men were all eager to fight & were marching on with a certainty of victory, more than 2000 had not fired their muskets, when Armstrong & Winder gave the order for a retreat, & to enforce that order added terror to authority! The English officers have told some of our citizens that they could not have stood more than 10 minutes longer, that they had march'd that day 13 miles, & were exhausted with thirst, heat & fatigue. It is said 2 Irish regiments wish'd to be taken & were on the point of joining us when the retreat commenced. I have conversed with many of our officers & men. All agree in this statement, that the troops wish'd to fight, & were full of spirit & courage. The English expected great resistance. Yesterday when in the city I conversed with a great many citizens, they were all desponding, dishearten'd. The President is determined on making a resistance in case the enemy return. But our citizens sent a deputation begging him not to attempt it, as it would be ineffectual, & would only be making them & the roofs that

Inferior
leaders.

shelter'd them a sacrifice. "They now," they said, "had neither honor or property to loose. All they valued was gone." The President's orders, however, were enforced & all day yesterday while I was in the city I saw them collecting.

Universal execration follows Armstrong, who it is believed never wished to defend the city & I was assured that had he pass'd thro' the city the day after the engagement, he would have been torn to pieces. The district certainly was not in a state of preparation, whether from want of ability or want of inclination on the part of the administration we can not know. The city was capable of defence & ought to have been defended. But we will retrieve, yes I trust we will retrieve our character & restore our capital.

62. NEW YORK CITY, 1811

During the year 1796 Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, travelled in various sections of Connecticut and Massachusetts. This was the beginning of a series of journeys which he made during the vacation periods of succeeding years. His purpose was, as he says, to furnish those who might live one hundred years hence "the means of enabling them to know what was the appearance of their country during the period occupied by my journeys. . . . The colonization of a wilderness by civilized men, where a regular government, mild manners, arts, learning, science, Christianity, have been interwoven in its progress from the beginning, is a state of things of which the eastern continent and the records of past ages, furnish neither an example nor a resemblance. The conversion of a wilderness into a desirable residence for man is an object which no intelligent spectator can behold without being strongly interested in such a combination of enterprise, patience, and perseverance. Few of those human efforts, which have excited the applause of mankind, have demanded equal energy or merited equal approbation."—(Timothy Dwight, *Travels in America*, Vol. III, 430 *passim*.)

New York
streets.

The streets of New York have unhappily followed, in many instances, its original designation of a fishing and trading village. The streets are generally wider, and less crooked, than those of Boston, but a great proportion of them are narrow and winding.

Broadway, which commences at the battery, proceeds over

the highest ground, between the two rivers, about two miles in a straight line, and is the noblest avenue of this nature in North America. . . . The number of dwelling houses in this city may be estimated at 12,680.* They are generally new, compared with a great part of those in Boston, and as a body are better buildings, although very few of them (and none within my observation) are equal in beauty to the modern-built houses in that town. The public buildings in this city are, besides others, fifty-five churches. Twelve of these, including the old French Protestant Church, are Episcopal; seven belong to the Dutch, seven to the Presbyterian, five to the Scotch Reformed Church, and eight to the Baptists, of which six are considered as regular and two as irregular. Seven regular churches belong to the Methodists; there are also two or three smaller congregations, calling themselves Methodists, which meet in private rooms, but are not acknowledged. There is one congregation of Blacks among the Baptists, and one among the Methodists. There are also the Friends' meeting-houses, one German Lutheran Church, one German Calvinist, one Moravian, one Universalist, one Roman Catholic, one [Roman Catholic] now building, one Jewish Synagogue.

New York residences.

Public buildings.

The other public buildings are a city hall, the gaol, the state prison, the bridewell, the alms-house, new alms-house, the hospital, the college, the free school-house, an orphan asylum, the public library, the custom-house, the United States arsenal, the State arsenal, two theatres, the banks, the city hotel, the tontine coffee-house, the halls, occupied by the Washington, Mechanics, and Tammany societies.

The city-hall, although not the most perfect piece of architecture, is the most superb building in the United States. This elegant structure was begun in 1803, by order of the corporation, and finished at the sole charge of the city in 1812 at an expense of 520,000 dollars.

City Hall.

The hospital is an establishment honourable both to the city and the state. It is under the management of twenty-

Hospital.

* The population of New York, in 1810, was 96,000.

six governors, who meet on the first Tuesday of every month and whose services are gratuitous.

Applicants for admission must bring a recommendation from a governor, physician, or surgeon of the hospital, or, if citizens of the state, and not residents in the city, from a justice of the peace, and one or more overseers in the town or city where they reside. . . .

An asylum for lunatics is annexed to this institution.

Since the year 1799, sick and disabled seamen, at the port of New York, are received into the Hospital, and enjoy all its advantages. . . .

Asylum.

The asylum is also of stone, ninety feet in length, forty feet wide in the centre and sixty-five in the wings. This building is well constructed for the comfort and safety of the patients, and those employed in the management, is well warmed, and is made perfectly secure from fire.

State
prison.

In Greenwich Street, about two miles from the southern point of the city, stands the State Prison. This structure is of free stone, and of the Doric order. It contains fifty-four rooms for prisoners, twelve feet by eighteen; a large room for public worship, and apartments for the use of the keeper; beside fourteen solitary cells, six feet by eight, and fourteen in height. In the rear of the building is a manufactory, containing workshops for the prisoners, two hundred feet in length and twenty in breadth, of two stories. . . .

Murder and treason are now the only crimes which are made capital by the laws of this State. Felonies of all other descriptions, together with most other subordinate offences are punished by confinement in this prison; felonies, by imprisonment for life.

The government of the State Prison is committed to seven inspectors, who appoint their own clerk, and an indefinite number of keepers. The convicts are dressed in uniform, and are comfortably fed and clothed, and the sexes are kept separate. They are employed in various kinds of mechanical and manufacturing business. The inspectors perform their services gratuitously.

The building, commonly known by the name of the Bridewell, is occupied in its middle apartments by the keeper and his family. The east wing or end, is called the Bridewell, and the west end, the City Prison. The latter is divided into ten small rooms, two large ones, and a common hall, and is appropriated by those who are committed, to await their trial, or who have been tried and sentenced to imprisonment without labour. **Bridewell.**

The two large rooms are the abodes of vagrants chiefly, who do the menial duties required by the whole establishment. The prisoners in the city prison mix promiscuously in the day-time but are ordered to their respective rooms at sun-set. The former (the Bridewell) is divided into four large rooms, two on a floor, and is the receptacle of all who are confined by sentence to hard labour. The crimes for which Bridewell furnishes the punishment are various sorts of misdemeanors; such as libel, assault and battery, obtaining goods by false pretences etc. etc. and all felonies less than grand larceny, which is the title of the theft when the goods stolen exceed 12 dollars 50 cents in value. The term of imprisonment in the Bridewell for any offence is not to exceed three years. Imprisonment may, at the discretion of the court, be substituted in all cases, in which they are authorized to inflict corporeal chastisement for that punishment.

A whipping-post was erected a few years since in the Bridewell yard, but the infliction of the punishment was found to be so revolting to the feelings of the community, that the post has been removed. The employment of the prisoners in Bridewell is the picking of oakum. The tasks are given out to the rooms before sun-rise, and the punishment for idleness, or refractoriousness, is diminishing the allowance of food. The whites are divided from the blacks, who usually constitute a *moiety*; and the males from the females, the latter being numerically proportioned to the former in a ratio not less than three to two. Those who labour in Bridewell are confined to their respective rooms. The corporation

of the city may, however, direct the convicts to be employed on the public works. They are frequently seen chained to wheel-barrows, and occupied in repairing roads between New York and Haarlem. The vagrants mentioned as performing the menial offices are usually street beggars, and idle persons who cannot give a good account of themselves. The average number of prisoners is about one hundred and fifty. . . .

Benev-
olent
societies.

There is in this city a great number of societies, formed professedly for benevolent purposes. Among these is the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order; professedly established to afford relief to persons in distress. Its principal business is, however, believed to be that of influencing elections.

The Washington Benevolent Society, though really employed in many benevolent purposes, is substantially a political association.

The Humane Society was formed for the relief of poor debtors, principally by supplying them with food and fuel. . . .

The Ladies' Society, for the relief of poor widows with small children was formed in 1797; and has pursued its designs on wise principles, with much activity, and with great effect. In their efforts they combine the diffusion of well-directed charity with an energetic encouragement of industry and morals.

The Dispensary is an excellent institution, intended to provide relief for such indigent sick persons, in their own dwellings, as are unable to procure it for themselves, and are yet not proper objects for admittance into the Alms-House or the Hospital. Probably no institution has done more good, with means of the same extent.

The Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen is, also, a charitable institution for the benefit of its members. . . .

The Sailors Snug Harbour is a benevolent institution, which well deserves to be particularly mentioned. In the year 1801, Captain Robert Richard Randall gave, by devise, the principal part of his estate to trustees, for the purpose

of establishing an asylum for the maintenance and support of aged, decrepid, and worn-out sailors. The estate was valued at 50,000 dollars; and the devise is to be put into operation whenever the trustees shall judge the interest sufficient for the maintenance of fifty sailors.

A society was formed some years since for the purpose of diffusing extensively the Vaccine Inoculation. After the business was completely established, and the prejudices against it were overcome, it was placed under the care of the City Dispensary.

At the head of the literary institutions in New York is Columbia College. The building in which it is established stands on a tract, given to it originally by the rector of the Episcopal congregation in this city, and the inhabitants in communion with the Church of England, or what is now called the corporation of Trinity Church; the richest ecclesiastical body, it is believed, in the United States. . . . Its name was King's College. Originally it was intended to furnish only the education generally given in seminaries of this class. Since 1783, a medical institution has been annexed to it, which at first, was under the direction of five professors.

Educational institutions.

In the year 1807, the regents of the university of New York, to whom, exclusively, is committed the superintendence of learning and science in this State, and the power of instituting such seminaries as they think proper, established a college of physicians and surgeons in the city of New York.

A third institution of the same general nature has been also formed in this city, if I mistake not, by a collection of medical gentlemen voluntarily associated. The two former of these have been lately united.

Under the care of the trustees of the college of physicians and surgeons is placed, by legislative authority, a botanic garden, in the interior of the island, called the Elgin Botanic Garden. This establishment owes its existence to Dr. David Hosack, professor of botany and materia medica in the college. It was begun in 1801. In 1810, the legislature passed

an act, directing, that the establishment should be purchased for the state at an appraisement; and it was accordingly purchased for 74,268 dollars 75 cents, exclusive of plants, trees, shrubs, etc., estimated at 12,000 dollars more.

The Academic Faculty [Columbia College], or as it is here styled, the Faculty of the Arts, consists of a president, a provost, and four professors; one of moral philosophy, one of classical literature, one of mathematics and natural philosophy, and one of logic, rhetoric and belles-lettres.

The whole number of those who have taken the degree of A. B. in this college, to the year 1776 inclusive, was 110. For ten years the course of education was interrupted by the revolutionary war, and its consequences. From the years 1786 when its operations commenced again under the name of Columbia College, to the year 1814 inclusive, the whole number was 502. . . .

Secondary
education.

Of the schools it is impossible for me to give any satisfactory account. No system of school education has ever been adopted by the inhabitants, nor anything which resembles a system; except that there are several charity schools, belonging to the Episcopal, Dutch, and Presbyterian congregations, and a school on the Lancastrian plan, under the patronage, as I believe, of the city corporation, and containing, at different times, from five to seven hundred scholars. In other cases, schools are generally established in this manner:—An individual, sometimes a liberally-educated student, having obtained the proper recommendations, offers himself to some of the inhabitants as a schoolmaster. If he is approved, and procures a competent number of subscribers, he hires a room, and commences the business of instruction. Sometimes he meets with little, and sometimes with much encouragement. I am acquainted with no spot in the United States, where a schoolmaster of reputation will find his business more profitable, unless perhaps at Charleston, South Carolina.

Academy
of Fine
Arts.

There is in this city a society entitled an Academy of Arts. With the state of its operations I am unacquainted, except that it has purchased, or has in its possession, imitations of

several fine specimens of ancient sculpture, and some other rarities of a similar nature.

There is here also an Historical Society; the peculiar object of which is to obtain, preserve, and publish, whatever may throw light upon the history of this state. Historical Society.

There is, also, a Library Society in this city, whose style is "The Trustees of the New York Society's Library." The library consists of more than ten thousand volumes, and is continually increasing. Library.

There is another institution in this city, in the highest degree honourable to the ladies by whom it was originated. Its style is "The Orphan Asylum Society." . . . Orphan asylum.

The plan pursued is, to bind girls as servants, from the time they can read and write until they are eighteen, and the boys until they are fifteen; at which time they are bound as apprentices to mechanics.

The principal markets in New York are Fly market and Bear market. There are six or seven smaller ones in other parts of the city. They are all under the control of the mayor, and are very well regulated. The supplies are abundant of flesh and fish, of fruits and vegetables.

There are eight Banks:— . . .

Banks.

There are eight Insurance Companies:— . . .

There is in this city a Chamber of Commerce, which was formed April 5th, 1768. . . . This body regulates merchants' commissions, adjusts mercantile disputes among the members, regulates the amount of damages on the non-payment of exchange, etc.

There are between three and four hundred vessels, estimated on an average at forty tons each, employed continually on Hudson's river throughout the mild season. Shipping.

The foreign commerce of this city is carried on with every part of the world to which its ships can find access, and is universally acknowledged to be fair and honourable. . . .

Abstract of Exports from the State of New York during Ten Years, almost all of them from the City.

1801	19,851,136 dollars.
1807	26,357,963 “
1808	5,606,058 “
1810	17,242,330 “

Abstract of the duties collected in the city of New York during the same period.

1801	4,978,490 dollars.
1807	7,613,700 “
1808	3,605,372 “
1810	5,232,707 “

Water
communi-
cation. . . . Almost all the marketable articles of New York are brought to it by water, and nearly the whole of its imports are conveyed into the different parts of the country in the same manner. The coasting vessels of the Hudson, New-England, and New-Jersey, appear to the Eye to be numberless. So long ago as 1793, six hundred and eighty-three vessels entered this port from abroad, and one thousand three hundred and eighty-one coastwise . . . in 1795, nine hundred and forty-one foreign. Independently of the restrictions upon commerce adopted by the national government, the number of both has been continually increasing, and in all probability will continue to increase through centuries to come.

Steam-
boats. Hardly any sight is more rare or more beautiful than the steam-boats, which move on the waters connected with New York; and which began their first operation, deserving of any notice, at this place.

Society. . . . The economy of the inhabitants is I think less remarkable, and less universal, than their industry. A magnificent and expensive style of living is adopted by many of the citizens, which in a considerable number of instances has plainly outrun the convenience, and sometimes the property, of those by whom it has been practised. Still by far the greater number are economical, and continually increasing their property. . . .

The furniture and carriages of many of the inhabitants are rich and beautiful. . . . Until lately, almost all the coaches were private property. Hackney coaches are now employed

in considerable numbers, and riding is a favourite amusement of the citizens. . . .

A great part of the citizens merit the character of sobriety, and the number is not small of those who on the best grounds are believed to be religious. Many of the churches are regularly filled when the weather is tolerably pleasant and the number of those who frequent them has been increasing for a series of years. . . .

The language spoken in this city is very various. When passing through the streets, you will hear English, French, Dutch, and German, and all the various brogues spoken by the numerous nations mentioned above,* when imperfectly acquainted, as most of them are, with the English tongue.

Languages spoken.

. . . The general attachment to learning is less vigorous in this city than in Boston: commerce having originally taken a more entire possession of the minds of its inhabitants. The character of New York, however, has for some time been materially changing in this respect, and is still changing. . . . Wealth also, in a much higher degree than good sense can justify, is considered as conferring importance and distinction on its owner. This prepossession is a blast upon all improvement of the mind, for it persuades every one in whom it exists, that such improvement is insignificant and useless.

Standard of wealth.

The amusements in New York are the same as in other cities, and occupy as much time, attention, and expense as would ordinarily be pleaded for by the veriest votary of pleasure, and more than can be admitted by religion or common sense. Theatrical entertainments, assemblies, balls, concerts, etc., are extensively objects of attachment. Visiting watering places, riding, sailing, shopping, and frequenting various spectacles, intended to kill time, and to enable the authors to live in idleness, are favourite pursuits. Traveling, also, is a considerable object of attention to the more intelligent part of the inhabitants, during the mild season. A number of the citizens are annually seen upon the race

Amusements.

* Irish, Scotch, Swedes, Danes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, and West Indians.

grounds, near Haarlem, and on Hempstead plain. Such of them as are, or wish to be sportsmen, hunt grouse, and deer upon Long Island, and catch trout in its waters. Since the establishment of steam-boats excursions by water up the Hudson, into New-Jersey, and into New-England, have become favourite amusements. . . .

CHAPTER XVIII

REORGANIZATION, WESTWARD MIGRATION, AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1815-1825

63. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE, 1817

Henry Bradshaw Fearon came to America in June, 1817, as the representative of thirty-nine English families. His mission was to investigate places which might be suitable for settlement. His treatment of conditions in America show that he was fair-minded and his statements are in contrast to some of the other travellers of the period.—(H. B. Fearon, *Sketches of America*, pp. 139-159. London, 1818.)

The present candidates for the office of governor are each of them of the democratic party. General Hiester is of the moderate faction, and is also supported against his opponent by the federalists and quids. Mr. Finlay has the powerful aid of the unyielding democrats; and, though he is in the minority in the proportion of one to three within the city of Philadelphia, little doubt is entertained of his election's having been carried by a large majority through the State at large. . . . The general election is preceded by an election in the different wards of officers called Inspectors, whose business it is to receive the ballot ticket of voters: parties try their strength in this first step. I witnessed the mode of voting: the persons choosing inspectors attend at a stated place in their own ward, and deliver in their ballot through a window. The number assembled at any one time did not exceed twenty. There was no noise, no confusion, in fact, not even conversation. I was astonished to witness the anxiety felt by leading men, that *their* party should be elected

Election
in Phila-
delphia.

inspectors. The eventual choice at the general election seemed, in fact, in their estimation, actually to rest upon the having "Inspectors" of their own party. I remarked to them that it could be of no consequence of what party these gentlemen were, as they were protected from partial or corrupt conduct by the mode of voting being by ballot. One of them informed me afterwards, that the fact of the inspectors being on one side or the other had been calculated to make a difference of upwards of 200 votes in a particular section!—arising from the reception of improper, and the rejection of good votes. The means by which an inspector can effect this, though the mode is by ballot, is said to be remarkably exact. . . . An announcement, called "The Ticket," issues from this Caucus a few days before the election; in this case there were three of these "tickets," severally headed, *Federal*, *Republican*, and *Democratic*. The federalists sent to an acquaintance of mine their "ticket," enclosed in the following circular letter; though I would remark, that *canvassing*, in the English meaning of that word, is not allowed:—

"FELLOW CITIZEN,

"The exercise of the elective franchise is at all times a privilege of the highest value:—on the present occasion every federalist has an opportunity to aid in dispelling prejudices—in lessening the malignity of party spirit—in *restoring the right of free election, and of resisting those dangerous abuses in government, introduced by office holders, which if not promptly and steadily checked, threaten to become inveterate and irremediable*. Let every man be vigilant, active, and firm, on this day, and success will crown our efforts.

"The inspectors have resolved to open the poll precisely at 9 o'clock.

"October 14, 1817."

The democratic party adopt the same mode. I enclose you two of their circulars. These documents, as well as others which will follow, are, perhaps, better calculated than

any other plan which I could adopt, to put you in possession of the state of parties, their mode of conduct and feelings toward each other, and also the general political condition of the whole people.

[Circular.]

"SIR,

"We enclose you the *Democratic Ticket*, which is recommended by the delegates and conferrees fairly chosen, after *public notice*. We request you to VOTE IT and give it *all* the SUPPORT to which you may deem it entitled. We consider THIS election as involving the most important consequences. Federalism, conscious of its own feebleness and inability to wrestle with the STRENGTH of democracy, has made a *union* with a FEW disappointed men; hoping through them to turn over, not only this city and district, but the State and Union to Federal misrule.

"Be careful to *bring with you* your receipt for COUNTY tax. If a *naturalized* citizen, be sure to *bring* your CERTIFICATE of naturalization, as it will, in all probability, be required. These cautions are deemed more than ever necessary, from the shameful conduct and persecuting spirit manifested by the Federal Judges, at the late ward election. Be on the ground early. It is of an importance, that *every* citizen votes, because it may be that a vote would carry a candidate."

"*Philadelphia, October 6, 1815.*"

DEMOCRATIC ADDRESS

"CITIZENS, DEMOCRATS, AMERICANS!

"*This is the day of the General Election!* If you value your own rights, your own happiness, your political characters, your liberties, or your Republican institutions, every man to the poll, and vote the *Democratic Ticket*; it is headed with the name of the patriot WILLIAM FINDLAY.—*Citizens!* the times are momentous! the seceders from the Democratic ranks have joined with our old and inveterate political

enemies to *put down Democracy*. It is an *unholy league* between *apostates* and political traitors on the one part, and on the other the anglo-federalists, the monarchists, the aristocrats, the Hartford conventionalists, the blue-light men, the embargo-breakers, the Henryites, the men who in time of Peace cried out for *War! War!* but who in time of war, called themselves the *Peace party*.—Huzza for WILLIAM FINDLAY, and no bribery.—A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether.”

FEDERAL ADDRESS

“WILLIAM FINDLAY—1. A selfish politician, who never served his country, and always on the look-out for office. 2. An apostate federalist and time server. 3. A constant office hunter. 4. A treasury broker and public defaulter, who exchanged and *used public money for his own benefit*. 5. One who holds morality in contempt, and maintains and practices the maxim, that the end justifies the means. 6. One who has resorted to the basest falsehoods to support himself. 7. *One who has intrigued and bargained for the office*, and openly electioneered for himself. 8. A state inquisitor, who would gag, if not immolate every man, not of his own sect. 9. A man who has blended the public money with his own, and is yet to account for misdemeanor in office. 10. A barbarian, who holds that ‘the study of law disqualifies a man from being a judge.’ ”

“*Take notice* who are the friends of WILLIAM FINDLAY—1. Traitors and apostates. 2. Inveterate aristocrats. 3. Office holders and office hunters. 4. Cormorants for the loaves and fishes, and friends only to themselves. 5. Fugitives from British gaols and justice.

“*Take care!!!*—WILLIAM FINDLAY’s election will be sure: 1. If the Republicans stay at home. 2. If they are negligent or timid on the election ground. 3. *If election, like treasury frauds, are not detected and prevented.*

"Take advice,—1. Look well to your tickets. 2. Look well to your boxes. 3. Look well to your tallies. 4. Look well to your returns; and, 5. Look well to those who vote, that they are qualified. . . ."

The election terminated throughout the State in *one day*. The excitement of party and pecuniary feeling, by the universality of gambling upon the occasion, was very great; yet there was no confusion, no disturbance. Let it be borne in mind, that here was the right of voting to the utmost extent, and exercised by a people, concerning whom it is high praise to say, that they are not inferior in intellect, in information, in honest zeal, and in temperate ideas of liberty, to the English nation; yet there is much to lament here. The original documents given in the preceding pages are too full upon this point: they, indeed, are far from complimentary to our nature; but at the same time we should recollect, that in the political, as in the moral and natural worlds, we must endure evils, in order to insure a preponderance of good. The extent of my approbation, then, upon this occasion, is a conviction of the compatibility of popular election with peace and good order; and, if possessed by the English people, I should presume, it would not be attended with so many abuses.

A practice which has been often referred to in connection with this country, naturally excited my attention. It is that of individuals emigrating from Europe without money, and paying for their passage by binding themselves to the captain, who receives the produce of their labor for a certain number of years.

Redemptioners.

Seeing the following advertisement in the newspapers, put in by the captain and owners of the vessel referred to, I visited the ship, in company with a boot-maker of this city:

THE PASSENGERS

On board the brig *Bubona*, from Amsterdam, and who are willing to engage themselves for a limited time, to de-

fray the expences of their passage, consist of persons of the following occupations, besides women and children, viz. 13 farmers, 2 bakers, 2 butchers, 8 weavers, 3 taylors, 1 gardener, 3 masons, 1 mill-sawyer, 1 white-smith, 2 shoe-makers, 3 cabinet makers, 1 coal-burner, 1 barber, 1 carpenter, 1 stocking-weaver, 1 cooper, 1 wheelwright, 1 brewer, 1 locksmith.—Apply on board of the *Bubona*, opposite Callowhill-street, in the river Delaware, or to W. Odlin and Co. No. 38, South Wharves.

Oct. 2.

As we ascended the side of this hulk, a most revolting scene of want and misery presented itself. The eye involuntarily turned for some relief from the horrible picture of human suffering, which this living sepulchre afforded.

Mr. — enquired if there were any shoe-makers on board. The captain advanced: his appearance bespoke his office; he is an American, tall, determined, and with an eye that flashes with Algerine cruelty. He called in the Dutch language for shoe-makers, and never can I forget the scene which followed. The poor fellows came running up with unspeakable delight, no doubt anticipating a relief from their loathesome dungeon. Their clothes, if rags deserve that denomination, actually perfumed the air. Some were without shirts, others had this article of dress, but of a quality as coarse as the worst packing cloth. I enquired of several if they could speak English. They smiled, and gabbled, “No Engly, no Engly,—one Engly talk ship.” The deck was filthy. The cooking, washing, and necessary departments were close together. Such is the mercenary barbarity of the Americans who are engaged in this trade, that they crammed into one of those vessels 500 passengers, 80 of whom died on the passage. The price for women is about 70 dollars, men 80 dollars, boys 60 dollars. When they saw at our departure that we had not purchased, their countenances fell to that standard of stupid gloom which seemed to place them a link below rational beings. From my heart I execrated the *European cause* of their removal,

which is thus daily compelling men to quit the land of their fathers, to become voluntary exiles in a foreign clime;— . . .

. . . The *Penitentiary* system for the rational punishment and reform of criminals, being a subject with which you are familiar, I shall not trouble you with the details of the humane and enlightened management of the gaol in this city, I visited it on Saturday last. The keeper accompanied me into every apartment, giving, as we proceeded, the most full explanations. The scene was novel, and I had almost said delightful; but a recollection that I was viewing the consequences of vicious pursuits, checks the expression, and draws a tear for the weakness of humanity;—yet I could not but be pleased, and highly so, on drawing a comparison between what I saw here, and what I have witnessed in the London prisons. Here, instead of the prisoners passing their time in idleness, or in low debauchery and gaming, (increased inducement to the after commission of crime,) all was sobriety, life, and activity. A complete manufacturing town was in fact collected within the narrow precincts of these otherwise gloomy walls. The open court was occupied by stone-cutters, chiefly negroes. It would appear, on first seeing this department only, that these were either more vicious, or more hardly dealt with in the courts of law, than their white countrymen. But the true reason of their numbers in the yard is, that few of them being mechanics, they are set to labour upon those things for which they are fitted, and which they can undertake with little previous instruction. The rooms in which the mechanic arts are carried on, have a very great proportion of whites, so that crime would by no means seem to be monopolized by our darker brethren. The produce of the labour of prisoners nearly supports the whole of this extensive establishment. Some have earned a sufficiency by their own work to enable them to commence business on the expiration of their term of confinement. Those who conduct themselves with industry and propriety, receive a remission of part of their sentence. Several have become honest and useful members of society. When the gaoler spoke to the

Prisons.

prisoners they addressed him with confidence, but with proper respect. He is a plain intelligent man, liberally, though not profusely paid for his services. To have offered him money for his trouble, would, I am sure, have been considered an insult. What a contrast does such a man afford to our prison-keepers, the majority of whom are perhaps greater criminals than those over whom they tyrannize. Surely, the example of Pennsylvania will not be lost upon our country. Here is the best of all evidence, DEMONSTRATIVE PROOF, that brutal treatment, hangings, and gibbetting, are neither the most economical nor the most efficacious, as they are certainly neither the most humane nor the most enlightened modes of punishing crime or reforming society; and if we wish to preserve the character of a feeling and enlightened people, we must reform that foul disgrace to England, and to the age in which we live—our CRIMINAL CODE. One fact in connection with the prison, I have omitted to mention; and as it is a characteristic trait of national character, it ought to be recorded—white criminals will not eat with the negroes, the latter therefore have a separate table.

Hospital.

From this receptacle of moral evil, I walked to one of physical pain and suffering, the PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL, an institution in every way a national honour. The medical reputation of the gentlemen connected with this establishment would be highly estimated in the first European cities. . . .

64. THE WEST IN 1815

Timothy Flint, who was the pastor of a Congregational church in Massachusetts, came as a missionary to the West in 1815. For five years he lived at St. Charles, some forty miles above St. Louis. During the succeeding five years he was the principal of a seminary in Louisiana.

He was the author of a number of volumes and was referred to as one of the leading writers of the time. The following description of the West was taken from letters addressed to James Flint, of Salem, Massachusetts.

(Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi River*, 6 *passim*.)

Toward the latter part of the month, October, 1815, we began to ascend the Allegany hills. In our slow mode of traveling we had them in view several days. With their interminable blue outline, stretching hill beyond hill, and interposing to the imagination of such travelers as we were, a barrier to return almost as impassable as the grave, it may easily be imagined with what interest we contemplated them. . . .

Route to
West.

We passed these hills on the common route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Whatever they wanted in sublimity, at the time when we passed them, they more than made up in the difficulty and danger of crossing them. I have no wish, however to fatigue you with the recital of our exertions in lifting the carriage up precipitous ascents, washed by the rains, and the still greater exertions necessary to let it down again. We passed hundreds of Pittsburgh waggons in the crossing. Many of them had broken axles and wheels and in more than one place it was pointed out to us, that teams had plunged down the precipices and had perished. . . .

Difficul-
ties en-
countered.

In the valley, between the middle and the last of the parallel ridges, we encountered a drove of more than a thousand cattle and swine, from the interior of Ohio; a name which yet sounded in our ears like the land of savages. . . . Except the inhabitants in the immediate vicinity of Pittsburgh or other manufacturing villages, they find indifferent markets for their produce, and their chances for making money are very precarious. In healthiness, in the difficulty of procuring the means of subsistence, in abstemiousness, and in the habits of rigid industry, we compared them to our New England people. The intermixture of Irish, Scotch and Germans, has given them a singular and rather ludicrous dialect, in which the peculiarities of language of these several races are mixed.

Cattle
driven to
Eastern
markets.

The
people.

The first thing that strikes a stranger from the Atlantic, arrived at the boat-landing, is the singular, whimsical, and amusing spectacle, of the varieties of water-craft, of all shapes and structures. There is the stately barge, (or batteau) of

River
scenes at
Pittsburg.

the size of a large Atlantic Schooner, with its raised and outlandish looking deck. This kind of craft, however, which required twenty-five hands to work it up stream, is almost gone into disuse, and though so common ten years ago, is now scarcely seen. Next there is the keel-boat, of a long, slender, and elegant form, and generally carrying from 15 to 30 tons. This boat is formed to be easily propelled over shallow waters in the summer season, and in the low stages of the water. Next in order are the Kentucky flats, or in the vernacular phrase, "broad-horns," a species of ark, very nearly resembling a New England pig-stye. They are 15 feet wide, and from 40 to one hundred feet in length and carry from 20 to 70 tons. Some of them that are called family boats, and used by families in descending the river, are very large and roomy, and have comfortable and separate apartments, fitted up with chairs, beds, tables, and stoves. It is no uncommon spectacle to see a large family, old and young, servants, cattle, hogs, horses, sheep, fowls and animals of all kinds, bringing to recollection the cargo of the ancient ark, all embarked and floating down on the same boat. Then there are what the people call "covered sleds," or ferry-flats, and Allegany-skiffs carrying from eight to 12 tons. In another place are piroques of from 2 to 4 tons burden, hollowed sometimes from one prodigious tree, or from the trunks of two trees united, and a plank rim fitted to the upper part. There are common skiffs, and other small craft, named from the manner of making them, "dug-outs," and canoes hollowed from smaller trees. But besides these, in this land of freedom and invention, with a little aid perhaps, from the influence of the moon, there are monstrous anomalies, reducible to no specific class of boats, and only illustrating the whimsical archetypes of things that have previously existed in the brain of inventive men, who reject the slavery of being obliged to build in any received form. You can scarcely imagine an abstract form in which a boat can be built, that in some part of the Ohio or Mississippi you will not see, actually in motion.

This variety of boats, so singular in form, and most of them apparently so frail, is destined in many instances to voyages of from 1200 to 3000 miles. Keel-boats, built at this place, start on hunting expeditions for points on the Missouri, Arkansas and Red River, at such distances from Pittsburgh as these. . . . The manners of the boatmen are as strange as their language. Their peculiar way of life has given origin not only to an appropriate dialect, but to new modes of enjoyment, riot and fighting. Almost every boat, while it lies in the harbour has one or more fiddles scraping continually aboard to which you often see the boatmen dancing.

Boatmen.

. . . No wonder that the young along the banks of the great streams, should detest the labors of the field, and embrace every opportunity, either openly, or if minors, covertly to escape and devote themselves to the pernicious employment of boating. And in this view we may account for the detestation of the inhabitants along these great streams towards steam-boats, which are every day diminishing the number of small boats and boatmen, and which have already withdrawn from the western waters, probably 10,000 from that employment.

Steam-boat competition.

We landed at Marietta, just above the mouth of the Muskingum. It is a considerable village. I had letters to the venerable General Putnam, the patriarch of this colony. We were here once more in the society of those who had breathed the same air, had contemplated the same scenery, and been reared amidst the same institutions with ourselves. You can imagine the rapidity of discourse, the attempt of two or three to narrate their adventures at the same time, and the many pleasant circumstances attending the renewal of a long suspended intercourse with congenial society.

Marietta,
1815.
General
Rufus
Putnam.

General Putnam had moved here when it was one compact and boundless forest, vocal only with the cry of owls, the growl of bears, and the death-song of the savages. He had seen that forest fall under the axe, had seen commodious, and after that, splendid dwellings rise around him. He had seen the settlement sustain an inundation, which wafted

away the dwellings, and in some instances the inhabitants in them. The cattle and all the improvements of cultivation were swept away. He had seen the country suffer all the accumulated horrors of an Indian war. He had seen its exhaustless fertility and its natural advantages triumph over all. He had seen Marietta make advances towards acquainting itself with the gulf of Mexico, by floating off from its banks a number of sea vessels built there. He had seen the prodigious invention of steam-boats experimented on the Ohio, and heard their first thunder, as they swept by his dwelling. He had survived to see them become so common, as to be no more objects of curiosity. He had witnessed a hundred boats, laden for New Orleans, pass by in the compass of a few hours.

. . . He displayed in these remote regions, the grandeur, real and intrinsic, of those immortal men, who achieved our revolution.

Sectional-
ism in
Kentucky.

It is well known, that a jealousy, almost a hatred of Yankeès, prevailed among the mass of this people, during the late war. This feeling which had been fostered for years, seemed to be now dying away. . . . Fatal will it be to the several members of this great confederation, if the better informed, and those who give tone to public feeling and sentiment, do not feel the necessity of attempting to eradicate every fibre of this root of bitterness from our soil. . . . A native of the North has no conception of the nature and extent of this feeling, until he finds himself in the South and West. I have felt grieved to see, that too many of our books of travels, and most of the accounts of the West carried to the East, tend to foster this spirit toward these regions, on our part. The manner in which the slave question is agitated, keeps the embers glowing under the ashes. In my whole tour through this State, I experienced a frank and cordial hospitality. I entered it with a share of those prejudices which I had probably fostered unconsciously. . . .

No employment can be imagined more laborious, and few more dangerous, than this of propelling a boat against the

current of such a river. It may not be amiss to record some of the circumstances of labour and peril, for the growing disuse of all other but steam-boats will soon render these descriptions but little more than matter of past history. At one time you come to a place in the current, so swift that no force of oars and poles can urge the boat through it. You then have to apply, what is commonly called here a "cordelle," which is a long rope fastened at one end to the boat, thrown ashore, and seized by a sufficient number of hands to drag or track the boat up the stream. But, owing to the character of the river, and the numberless impediments in it and on its banks, this "cordelle" is continually entangling among the snags and sawyers, between the boat and the shore, and has often to be thrown over small trees, and carried round larger ones. Of course it requires great experience and dexterity to be a good leader of a cordelle. The service is extremely well adapted to the French boatmen. Sometimes you are impeded by vast masses of trees, that have lodged against sawyers. At other times, you find a considerable portion of the margin of the shore that has fallen into the river, with all its trees upon it. Just on the edge of these trees, the current is so heavy as to be almost impassable. . . . Let no deluded emigrant imagine that he can work a boat up this river, without great patience, expense, and labor, and after all, without danger. The danger and fatigue in this kind of boating are undoubtedly greater than those of sea navigation. I do not remember to have traversed this river in any considerable trip, without having heard of some fatal disaster to a boat. The multitude of carcasses of boats, lying at the points, or thrown up high and dry on the muck-heaps demonstrate most palpably, how many boats are lost on this wild, and as the boatmen always denominate it, "wicked river."

Ascent of
Missis-
sippi, 1816.

In the spring, one hundred boats have been numbered, that loaded in one day at the mouth of the Bayou, at New Madrid. I have strolled to the point on a spring evening; and seen them arriving in fleets. The boisterous gaiety of

River life.

the hands, the congratulations, the moving picture of life on board the boats, the numerous animals, large and small which they carry, their different loads, the evidence of the increasing agriculture of the country above, and more than all, the immense distances which they have already come, and those which they have still to go, afforded to me copious sources of meditation. You can name no point from the numerous rivers of the Ohio and the Mississippi, from which some of these boats have not come. In one place there are boats loaded with planks, from the pine forests of the southwest of New York. In another quarter there are the Yankee notions of Ohio. From Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bagging, and bale-rope. From Tennessee there are the same articles together with great quantities of cotton. From Missouri and Illinois, cattle and horses, the same articles generally as from Ohio, together with peltry and lead from Missouri. Some boats are loaded with corn in the ear and in bulk; others with barrels of apples and potatoes. Some have loads of cider. There are dried fruits, every kind of spirits manufactured in these regions, and in short, the products of the ingenuity and agriculture of the whole upper country of the west. They have come from regions, thousands of miles apart. The surfaces of the boats cover some acres. The hands travel about from boat to boat, make inquiries, and acquaintances, and form alliances to yield mutual assistance to each other, on their descent from this to New Orleans. After an hour or two passed in this way, they spring on shore to raise the wind in town. It is well for the people of the village if they do not become riotous in the course of the evening. . . .

America inherits, I believe from England a taste for puffing. She has improved upon her model. . . . I have been amused in reading puffing advertisements in the newspapers. A little subscription school, in which half the pupils are abecedarians is a college. There is the Pestalozzi establishment with its appropriate emblazoning. There is the agricultural school, the missionary school, the grammar box, the new way to make a wit of a dunce in six lessons and all the mechanical

ways of inoculating children with learning that they may not get it in the old natural way. The misfortune is, that these vile pretensions finally induce the people to believe that there is a royal road to learning. The parents are flattered, deceived and swindled. Puffing pretenders take the place of the modest man of science who scorns to compete with him in these vile acts. The children have their brains distended with the "east wind" and grow up at once empty and conceited. These founders of new schools, for the most part, advertise themselves from London, Paris, Philadelphia, and have all performed exploits in the regions whence they came, and bring the latest improvements with them, as to what they can do and what they will do, the object is to lay on the coloring thick and threefold. A respectable man wishes to establish himself in a school in these regions. He consults a friend who knows the meridian of the country. The advice is, call your school by some new and imposing name. Let it be understood that you have a new way of instructing children, by which they can learn twice as much in half the time as by the old ways. Throw off all modesty. Move the water and get in while it is moving. In short, depend upon the gullibility of the people. A school modelled on this advice was instituted at St. Louis while I was there, with a very imposing name. The masters, professors I should say, proposed to teach most of the languages and all the sciences. Hebrew they would communicate in twelve lessons, Latin and Greek with a proportionate promptness. These men who were to teach all this themselves had read Erasmus with a translation and knew the Greek alphabet. . . .

65. THE STEAMBOAT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WESTERN TRADE CONDITIONS

(House Executive Documents, 1st Session, 50th Congress, 1887-8, Vol. 20, 187, *passim*.)

The first experiment with steam in the navigation of the western rivers created surprise and excitement, but it did not give complete satisfaction. The truth is that it was

Steam-boats on Western rivers.

neither a perfect success, nor yet a failure. The growing commerce of the river demanded something better than the flat-boats and barges, and the merchants and merchandise of the valley having the necessary means and animated by the spirit of enterprise, did not hesitate to continue to experiment in the hope of finally solving the problem of steam navigation up the Mississippi and its tributaries. The experiment period lasted for five years. In that time nine expensive steam-boats were built, and while each succeeding boat was a decided advance on that which preceded it, defects and improvements being suggested by practical experience, steam navigation was not regarded as an assured success until 1817; when the steam-boat *Washington* made the trip from New Orleans to Louisville in twenty-five days. The trouble all along had been to stem the current successfully, and this trouble the indomitable pluck and energy of the merchants and the skill of the mechanics finally accomplished. With 1817, therefore, may be said to begin the era of successful steam navigation on the Mississippi. . . .

Successful
steam-
boating.

Plan for
steamboat
monopoly.

The trip of the *Washington* established another point of the very greatest advantage to the river country—that the Mississippi was the heritage of the people and could not be monopolized by any one. A company had been formed at the head of which were Fulton and Livingston, who had made the first experiments with steam on the Ohio and Mississippi. This company obtained from the Louisiana legislature an act giving them the exclusive right of navigating the waters of Louisiana with steam-vessels for fourteen years, with the privilege of renewing their charter at the end of that time. Anyone violating this monopoly was subject to a fine of \$500. The company owned the *Ætna*, *Vesuvius*, and *Orleans* and had arranged for a system of transfers at Louisville. The trip of the *Washington* to New Orleans was in defiance of this law, and that steam-boat was accordingly seized when she arrived at “the Crescent City.” The United States court swept away the monopoly, declared that the river was the heritage of the whole people, that the State of Louisiana

could not control it, and give its navigation to any company or monopoly. This decision naturally gave a great impetus to steam-boat building, and the next few years saw all the Ohio towns turning out steam-boats. . . .

The river traffic of 1814 shows that the steam-boats had so far made but little impression. There arrived at New Orleans that year, flat-boats, 598, barges, 324, steam-boats, 21. The steam-boat tonnage of New Orleans was but little over 2 per cent. of the total.

Influence
of steam-
boats on
river
traffic.

The receipts of New Orleans during the first year of successful steam navigation, 1816, amounted in value to \$8,062, 540. . . .

This is independent of the produce raised in Louisiana, such as cotton, corn, indigo, molasses, rice, sugar, tafia or rum, and lumber. These were brought to the market in the planter's crafts, and often taken from the plantation direct in foreign-bound vessels, a ship loading directly with sugar and molasses, which thus never went through New Orleans. But little account was taken of this system in the commercial reports of the time although sea-going vessels ascended the river as far as Natchez for cargoes. They were, of course, of small size, of but little more tonnage and draught than the steam-boats themselves.

The value of receipts shows to what extent the produce of the West passed through New Orleans. Cotton, which in later days rose to be 60 and even 75 per cent. in value of all the receipts, was then barely 12 per cent. At least 80 per cent. of the articles came from the West, that is, from the Ohio and the Upper Mississippi, above the Ohio. They represented the surplus products of the Mississippi Valley, for but little found any other exit to market. Much of the produce shipped from the West to New Orleans was lost *en route*. A rough estimate places the loss from disasters, snags, etc. at 20 per cent. Many boats, moreover, stopped along the river on their way down to sell supplies to the planters. Thus at Natchez, flour, grain, and pork were purchased from the Kentucky boats.

Losses in
river navi-
gation.

From these losses and sales the shipments down the river in 1816, including the products of Louisiana, may be estimated at \$13,875,000.

Increase in
steamboat
traffic.

The river traffic required 6 steam-boats, 594 barges, and 1287 flat-boats, of an actual tonnage of 87,670.

During all this period (1813-1814), and despite all these difficulties, the number of arrivals at New Orleans and the amount of river business on the Lower Mississippi continued to steadily increase.

In regard to the steam-boats, it should be remembered that the steady increase in arrivals each year does not fully express the increase in tonnage, because the boats were not only growing more numerous, but were increasing in size each year, and thus while they doubled in number between 1825 and 1833 they more than doubled in their carrying capacity.*

In regard to the flat-boats and other craft, there is no sufficiently definite information for most of this period. It should be said, however, that while the steam-boats supplanted the flat-boats in many lines of trade, they did not entirely drive them off the river for fifteen or twenty years afterwards.

Flatboats
vs.
steam-
boats.

During all this period when the western cities were building steam-boats the flat-boats also were increasing in numbers. They were found serviceable in carrying hay, coal,

*RIVER TRADE OF NEW ORLEANS, 1813-1860

Years	Arrivals of steam-boats	Freight received (tons)	Value of produce, dollars
1813-'14	21	67,560	
1814-'15	40	77,220	
1818-'19	191	136,300	16,771,711
1828-'29	756	247,700	20,757,265
1838-'39	1551	399,500	42,263,880
1848-'49	2873	1,009,900	81,989,692
1858-'59	3259	1,803,400	172,952,664
1859-'60	3566	2,187,560	185,211,254

etc., and in reaching the interior streams. The Mississippi counted some hundreds of tributaries. On some of these the settlements were sparse, and the surplus products afforded at best one or two cargoes a year, and these were sent much more conveniently and cheaply in flat-boats than in steamers.

The steamers had passed the flats between 1820 and 1830 in the business transacted and the freight hauled, and from this time they increased the lead steadily. The number of flats, however, arriving at New Orleans kept but little if any behind the steamers, and as late as 1840 nearly a fifth of the freight handled in the Lower Mississippi went by flat-boat, keel, or barge. The early flat-boats had depended altogether on the current of the river to carry them down. The system of towing was tried in 1829, and a small steamer, which would be called a tug to-day, was successfully used in towing keel-boats up and down stream.

The idea, however, did not seem to meet with much favor, the flat-boat men having a superstition that their conjunction with a steamer was not favorable to them, and it was reserved for a later generation to definitely try in the barge the system of towing freight up and down stream. . . .

As the first two decades of the century showed the settlement of the Ohio basin, and a rapid increase in population and production, so the next two resulted in the settlement of the Lower Mississippi region from Louisiana to the mouth of the Ohio. The removal of the Indian tribes to the Indian Territory, the building of levees, and the immense increase in the demand for cotton, hastened the development of West Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Northern Louisiana. The Western products received at New Orleans, although they did not fall off, constituted a smaller percentage of the city's total trade, while cotton and sugar became each year more important items commercially. In other words, the Western trade, while not growing less, did not increase as fast as that section advanced in population and production, nor as fast as the cotton trade.

Increase of
population
in the
West.

It was during this period that the South first began to

Increase in
cotton
production.

insist on the sovereignty of King Cotton, and New Orleans claimed, like Mahomet, to be its prophet. The rapid development of the cotton manufacturing industries in Europe incited the planters to devote more and more acres to it, and it became highly profitable to cultivate cotton even on credit. New Orleans was overflowing with money in those flush times, and lent it readily, and the credit system of the South was firmly established, to last even to this day. The system became universal among the planters, particularly those raising cotton and sugar, and New Orleans became not only the lender of money at a high rate of interest, but the depot of Western supplies, which it advanced in large quantities to the planters throughout the vast region then tributary to it. The whole agricultural country along the Lower Mississippi and its bayous and streams became, in a manner, the commercial slaves of the New Orleans factors, and were not allowed to sell to any one else or buy from them. The Western produce shipped down the river never stopped at the plantation, but was sent direct to New Orleans, and thence transhipped up the river over the same route it had just gone. When the big collapse of 1837 came the banks of New Orleans, with a circulation of \$7,000,000, purported to have a capital of \$34,000,000, a great majority of them being wrecked in the storm.

New
Orleans a
commercial
centre.

Within a few years, however, New Orleans recovered from the shock and strengthened its hold on the planters.

While the Mississippi Valley was listening at the Memphis convention* to the story of its glories to come, and river men were calculating on the immense traffic that was assured the future, New Orleans was confident of the future. Few of its people anticipated any danger of its future, and it was predicted not only in American papers but in the *British Quarterly Review* that it must ultimately become, on account of the Mississippi, the most important commercial city in America; if not in the world.

That eminent statistical and economical authority, De

* First great river convention, 1845; fifteen States represented.

Bow's Review, declared that "No City of the world has ever advanced as a mart of commerce with such gigantic and rapid strides as New Orleans." It was no idle boast. Between 1830 and 1840 no city of the United States kept pace with it. When the census was taken it was fourth in population, exceeded only by New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore and third in point of commerce of the ports of the world, exceeded only by London, Liverpool, and New York, being, indeed, but a short distance behind the latter city, and ahead of it in the export of domestic products. . . .

The first boat with a saloon and state-rooms, was applauded by the press as luxurious in the extreme. These cabins were steadily improved until they became really the equal of the finest ocean steamers on the Atlantic. The passenger business of the steam-boats was very large; indeed they carried all the passengers in the Mississippi Valley, and it was one of the surest sources of profit. . . .

Passenger
boats.

The West from 1840, when the railroads first began invading the Mississippi Valley, had become less and less interested in the river route to the ocean, and while there was still a heavy traffic from Saint Louis to Cincinnati and from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh, the decrease in the receipt of Western produce at New Orleans became marked.

River
traffic
vs.
railroads.

. . . The flat-boat trade slowly went out during this period. It had been a cheap but very unsafe way of getting produce to market. It is estimated that not more than three-fourths to four-fifths of the flat-boats when started down river to New Orleans ever reached that port, the others being snagged or lost. A squall on the river would sink a dozen at a time. At the same time the flat-boat offered great advantages to the farmers living along the smaller streams penetrating into the center of Indiana and Ohio. Indeed there was no other way of their getting their produce to market, as the low water, snags etc., rendered it impossible for the steam-boats to penetrate there. A flat-boat was accordingly built after the crop was gathered, loaded down with produce, and the spring tide waited for to float it out. . . .

Passing of
flat-boats.

66. DISPOSAL OF THE PUBLIC LANDS, 1796-1820

(Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain*, House Miscellaneous Documents, Second Session, 47th Congress, 1882-3, Vol. 19, pp. 200-5.)

Public
lands and
national
indebted-
ness.

March 3, 1795, Congress by law provided that "the nett proceeds of the sales of lands belonging, or which shall hereafter belong to the United States, in the Western territory thereof," should constitute a portion of the sinking fund of the United States for the redemption of the public debt.

Provision
for sale of
public
lands.

May 18, 1796 Congress passed the act for the sale of the lands of the United States in the territory northwest of the river of Ohio and above the mouth of the Kentucky River (in the present state of Ohio). This act provided for a surveyor general of the district and for the parceling of the lands therein for sale. It gave the substance of the present rectangular system of surveys for the public domain. It provided for the sale and the survey of lands in sections of 640 acres (a mile square) at public sale, under the direction of the governor or secretary of the Territory and the surveyor-general, and they were to be sold at Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, and the price to be not less than \$2. per acre. Two months' notice of sale was to be given by advertisement, and sale to take place one month thereafter. The remainder of the seven ranges of townships surveyed under the act of May 20, 1785, were to be sold at public sale at Philadelphia, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, in quarter townships, eight sections of 640 acres each, taking out the four sections in the center, which were reserved. . . .

The price \$2 per acre, was fixed so as to include all costs of surveying and disposition, which were to be paid by the purchasers. . . .

Sales of
lands
prior to
1800.

All lands sold for the benefit of the United States prior to the opening of the land offices under the act of May 10, 1800, were sold from the public domain in the present State of Ohio, and amounted to 1,484,047 acres, and realized \$1,201,725.68.

The act of May 10, 1800, introduced the present system of disposition of lands through officers called registers, whose offices are situated within defined districts. It established four land offices within the Northwest Territory, with an officer for each called a register, bonded for \$10,000; one office at Cincinnati, one at Chillicothe, one at Marietta, and the other at Steubenville. These were the first district land offices established in the United States.

Act of
1800.

The surveyor-general was to transmit to the register (as now) a copy of plate of tracts to be sold, and another copy to the Secretary of the Treasury (now to the Commissioner of the General Land Office.)

Lands west of the Muskingum were to be subdivided into half-sections of 320 acres each, and held as such; west of that river to be subdivided and sold as usual, in sections of 640 acres. These lands were to be offered for sale at public vendue, after notice at the offices, respectively, under the direction of the register and the governor or secretary of the Territory. All such sales to close in three weeks, and the lands remaining unsold to be disposed of at private-sale; none to be sold at less than \$2. per acre; payment to be made in specie or evidences of the public debt at the time of purchase, the person or persons to pay, exclusive of fees, \$6. for every section, and \$3. for every half-section, for surveying expense, and deposit one-twentieth part of the amount of purchase-money, forfeited in forty days if an addition of one-fourth part of the amount of the purchase-money was not paid; another fourth part to be paid within two years; another fourth part to be paid within three years, and the remaining fourth part within four years after the date of sale. Interest at 6 per cent. per annum from the day of sale to be charged on the last three payments as they became due. A discount of 8 per cent. per year to be allowed for prepayment of any of the last three payments.

If the first payment was not made, the lands became forfeited, and might again be sold, but not for less at private-sale than the sum offered at public sale.

Lands not paid for at the end of one year after the last payment became due were to be advertised for thirty days and sold during court; the surplus, if any, after payment of United States and expenses of sale, was to be returned to original owners. Lands not sold were to revert to the United States and be disposed of as other lands. . . .

National
vs. State
sales of
public
lands.

The price was fixed at not less than \$2. an acre. (Under contract the first sales of lands by the Government were 66- $\frac{2}{3}$ and 75 cents.) The United States at this time was, and had been for ten years, in competition with several States who were disposing of western lands—Connecticut selling her “Western Reserve” lands at 40 cents an acre in Northeastern Ohio; Virginia with her rich lands in Kentucky in the market; North Carolina selling in Tennessee; Pennsylvania with her charter lands offered through her state office; and Georgia with her lands in the territory now part of Alabama and Mississippi. Massachusetts before this, had reduced the price of her Maine lands to 50 cents an acre to check western emigration. There began to be a serious exodus to the western country. The roads were filled with moving families, and almost entire neighborhoods moved west. Fertile lands, at low prices, were abundant, and speculators were numerous. Under this credit system men became loaded with large land purchases, expecting to make sale of a portion of it at an early date to incoming immigrants at an advance, and to hold the remainder for themselves. The sales under this system, from the opening of the land offices in the territory northwest of the river Ohio by the above act to June 30, 1820, were as follows:

GROSS QUANTITY SOLD UNDER THE CREDIT SYSTEM

LOCATION	ACRES	AMOUNT
In Ohio	8,848,152.31	\$17,226,186.95
In Indiana	2,490,736.17	5,137,350.20.
In Illinois	1,593,247.53	3,227,805.20
In Missouri	1,249,113.91	3,349,465.70
In Alabama	3,957,281.00	16,182,147.67

LOCATION	ACRES	AMOUNT
In Mississippi	1,147,988.10	2,297,662.91
In Louisiana	45,277.00	90,554.00
In Michigan	67,362.02	178,400.46
Total . . .	19,399,158.04	\$47,689,563.09

This was afterwards scaled down by acts of Congress, by reversions and relinquishment, so that the Government parted title, under the Credit System to 13,642,536 acres, and received therefor \$27,900,379.29.

The act of May 10, 1800, was the first serious attempt at the creation of a general system of disposition of the public lands. . . . Petitions, resolutions, legislative enactments, and personal applications for relief from the pressure of land purchases from the Government under the credit system resulted in various acts of relief. . . . These acts were all operative for the benefit of persons holding not over 640 acres. The Congress of the United States, April 24, 1820, provided for the sale of half quarter-sections, or 80-acre lots of land, and that credit should not be allowed for the purchase-money of any lands after July 1, 1820, but that complete payment must be made by the purchaser or applicant at the time of purchase; and by section 3 of this act, it was provided that the public lands offered should be sold at the "minimum" price \$1.25 per acre at either public or private sale, and provided for the entry or purchase by persons at the several district land offices of all land which, prior to July 1, had been offered at public sale and remained unsold. It further provided for the sale of reverted lands, which were forfeited for non-fulfillment of purchase terms under the credit system. Previous to this time, Congress had, by special acts, directed land sales to be made, but by this act it became the duty of the President, and has so continued to this day, to issue proclamations of sale of public lands through the Commissioner of the General Land Office. This act was a great innovation. It reduced the price of all public lands which

Act of
1820.

should be offered to the minimum of \$1.25 per acre, and after they were offered, (*i. e.* offered at public sale after due advertising and notice) such as remained unsold were to be held for sale at the district land offices at \$1.25 per acre, in unlimited quantities of not less than 80 acres (half quarter sections) at private sale. Thus, in the period 1786 to 1820, the price had fallen from \$2. to \$1.25 per acre cash, and the quantity which might be sold was reduced from whole townships and eight sections to sections (640 acres), half sections (320 acres), quarter-sections (160 acres), and half quarter-sections (80 acres) thus fostering small holding at a low price, with deed in fee from the Government.

The disastrous credit system spread over Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Michigan. The general policy of land legislation by Congress was, for the first thirty years, to meet exigencies by temporary enactments from time to time. This policy was continued down to the period of the passage of the pre-emption act of 1841.* . . .

67. THE SANTA FÉ TRAIL, 1831

Dr. Josiah Gregg made his first journey over the Santa Fé trail in 1831. During the following eight years, as a trader, he crossed the border from the United States to Mexico eight times. He noted the daily occurrences in his "journal." This journal, together with various articles prepared by him for the newspapers, was put into book form and appeared in two volumes. They contain some of the best literature on western history.—(Reprinted by permission from *Early Western Travels*, XIX, 189 *passim*; XX, 88 *passim*. R. G. Thwaites, editor. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1908.)

Independence,
1831-1839.

As Independence is a point of convenient access (the Missouri river being navigable at all times from March till November), it has become the general port of embarkation for every part of the great western and northern "prairie

* For the system of surveying public lands see James and Sanford. *Government in State and Nation* (ed. 1912), pp. 280, 281.

ocean." Besides the Santa Fé caravans, most of the Rocky Mountain traders and trappers, as well as emigrants to Oregon, take this town in their route. During the season of departure, therefore, it is a place of much bustle and active business.

Among the concourse of travellers at this "starting point," besides traders and tourists, a number of pale-faced invalids are generally to be met with. The Prairies have, in fact, become very celebrated for their sanative effects—more justly so, no doubt, than the most fashionable watering-places of the North. . . .

The wagons now most in use upon the Prairies are manufactured in Pittsburg; and are usually drawn by eight mules or the same number of oxen. Of late years, however, I have seen much larger vehicles employed, with ten or twelve mules harnessed to each, and a cargo of goods of about five thousand pounds in weight. At an early period, the horse was more frequently in use, as mules were not found in great abundance; but as soon as the means for procuring these animals increased, the horse was gradually and finally discarded, except occasionally for riding and the chase.

Wagons
and
freight.

Oxen having been employed by Major Riley for the baggage wagons of the escort which was furnished the caravan of 1829, they were found, to the surprise of the traders, to perform almost equal to mules. Since that time, upon an average about half of the wagons in these expeditions have been drawn by oxen. They possess many advantages, such as pulling heavier loads than the same number of mules, particularly through muddy or sandy places; but they generally fall off in strength as the prairie grass becomes drier and shorter, and often arrive at their destination in a most shocking plight. In this condition I have seen them sacrificed at Santa Fé for ten dollars the pair; though in more favourable seasons, they sometimes remain strong enough to be driven back to the United States the same fall. Therefore, although the original cost of a team of mules is much greater, the loss ultimately sustained by them is usually

Use of
oxen.

less,—to say nothing of the comfort of being able to travel faster and more at ease. . . .

At last all are fairly launched upon the broad prairie—the miseries of preparation are over—the thousand anxieties occasioned by wearisome consultations and delays are felt no more. The charioteer, as he cracks his whip, feels a bounding elasticity of soul within him, which he finds it impossible to restrain;—even the mules prick up their ears with a peculiarly conceited air, as if in anticipation of that change of scene which will presently follow. Harmony and good feeling prevail everywhere. The hilarious song, the bon mot and the witty repartee, go round in quick succession; and before people have had leisure to take cognizance of the fact, the lovely village of Independence, with its multitude of associations, is already lost to the eye.

It was on the 15th of May, 1831, and one of the brightest and most lovely of all the days in the calendar, that our little party set out from Independence. The general rendezvous at Council Grove was our immediate destination. It is usual for the traders to travel thus far in detached parties, and to assemble there for the purpose of entering into some kind of organization, for mutual security and defence during the remainder of the journey.

. . . Early on the 26th of May we reached the long looked-for rendezvous of Council Grove, where we joined the main body of the caravan. Lest this imposing title suggest to the reader a snug and thriving village, it should be observed, that, on the day of our departure from Independence, we passed the last human abode upon our route; therefore, from the borders of Missouri to those of New Mexico not even an Indian settlement greeted our eyes. This point is nearly a hundred and fifty miles from Independence, and consists of a continuous strip of timber nearly half a mile in width, comprising the richest varieties of trees; . . .

The designation of “Council Grove,” after all, is perhaps the most appropriate that could be given to this place; for we there held a “grand council,” at which the respective claims

Entering
the
prairie.

Council
Grove.

of the different "aspirants to office" were considered, leaders selected, and a system of government agreed upon,—as is the standing custom of these promiscuous caravans. One would have supposed that electioneering and "party spirit" would hardly have penetrated so far into the wilderness: but so it was. Even in our little community we had our "office-seekers" and their "political adherents," as earnest and as devoted as any of the modern school of politicians in the midst of civilization. After a great deal of bickering and wordy warfare, however, all the "candidates" found it expedient to decline, and a gentleman by the name of Stanley, without seeking, or even desiring the "office," was unanimously proclaimed "Captain of the Caravan." The powers of this officer were undefined by any "constitutional provision," and consequently vague and uncertain: orders being only viewed as mere requests, they are often obeyed or neglected at the caprice of the subordinates. It is necessary to observe, however, that the captain is expected to direct the order of travel during the day, and to designate the camping-ground at night; with many other functions of a general character, in the exercise of which the company find it convenient to acquiesce. But the little attention that is paid to his commands in cases of emergency, I will leave the reader to become acquainted with, as I did, by observing their manifestations during the progress of the expedition. . . .

Organiza-
tion of the
party.

But after this comes the principal task of organizing. The proprietors are first notified by "proclamation" to furnish a list of their men and wagons. The latter are generally apportioned into four "divisions," particularly when the company is large—and ours consisted of nearly a hundred wagons, besides a dozen of dearborns and other small vehicles, and two small cannons (a four and six pounder), each mounted upon a carriage. To each of these divisions, a "lieutenant," was appointed, whose duty it was to inspect every ravine and creek on the route, select the best crossings, and superintend what is called in prairie parlance, the "forming" of each encampment.

Upon the calling of the roll, we were found to muster an efficient force of nearly two hundred men without counting invalids or other disabled bodies, who, as a matter of course, are exempt from duty. There is nothing so much dreaded by inexperienced travellers as the ordeal of guard duty. But no matter what the condition or employment of the individual may be, no one has the smallest chance of evading the "common law of the prairies." . . .

The wild and motley aspect of the caravan can be but imperfectly conceived without an idea of the costumes of its various members. The most "fashionable" prairie dress is the fustian frock of the city-bred merchant furnished with a multitude of pockets capable of accomodating a variety of "extra tackling." Then there is the backwoodsman with his linsey or leather hunting-shirt—the farmer with his blue jean coat—the wagoner with his flannel-sleeve vest—besides an assortment of other costumes which go to fill up the picture. . . .

"All's set!" is finally heard from some teamster—"All's set," is directly responded from every quarter. "Stretch out!" immediately vociferates the captain. Then, the "heps!" of drivers—the cracking of whips—the trampling of feet—the occasional creek of wheels—the rumbling of wagons—form a new scene of exquisite confusion, which I shall not attempt further to describe. "Fall in!" is heard from head-quarters, and the wagons are forthwith strung out upon the long inclined plain, which stretches to the heights beyond Council Grove. . . .

Our route lay through uninterrupted prairie for about forty miles—in fact I may say, for five hundred miles, excepting the very narrow fringes of timber along the borders of the streams. . . .

Our hopes of game were destined soon to be realized; for early on the second day after leaving Cottonwood (a few miles beyond the principal Turkey creek), our eyes were greeted with the sight of a herd amounting to nearly a hundred head of buffalo, quietly grazing in the distance before

Motley
dress of
caravan.

Orders
given.

Buffalo
sighted.

us. Half of our company had probably never seen a buffalo before (at least in its wild state); and the excitement that the first sight of these "prairie beeves" occasions among a party of novices, beggars all description. Every horseman was off in a scamper: and some of the wagoners, leaving their teams to take care of themselves, seized their guns and joined the race afoot. Here went one with his rifle or yager—there another with his double-barrelled shot-gun—a third with his holster-pistols—a Mexican perhaps with his lance—another with his bow and arrows—and numbers joined without any arms whatever, merely for the "pleasures of the chase"—all helter-skelter—a regular John Gilpin race, truly "neck or naught." The fleetest of the pursuers were soon in the midst of the game, which scattered in all directions, like a flock of birds upon the descent of a hawk.

A few "beeves" were killed during the chase; and as soon as our camp was pitched, the bustle of kindling fires and preparing for supper commenced. The new adventurers were curious to taste this prairie luxury; while we all had been so long upon salt provisions—now nearly a month—that our appetites were in exquisite condition to relish fresh meat. . . .

But imagine our consternation and dismay, when, upon descending into the valley of the Cimarron, on the morning of the 19th of June, a band of Indian warriors on horseback suddenly appeared before us from behind the ravines—an imposing array of death-dealing savages! There was no merriment in this! It was a genuine alarm—a tangible reality! These warriors, however, as we soon discovered, were only the vanguard of a "countless host," who were by this time pouring over the opposite ridge, and galloping directly towards us.

Appear-
ance of
Indians.

The wagons were soon irregularly "formed" upon the hill-side: but in accordance with the habitual carelessness of caravan traders, a great portion of the men were unprepared for the emergency. Scores of guns were "empty," and as many more had been wetted by the recent showers, and would not "go off." Here was one calling for balls—an-

other for powder—a third for flints. Exclamations, such as, “I’ve broke my ramrod”—“I’ve split my caps”—“I’ve rammed down a ball without powder”—“My gun is ‘choked’; give me yours”—were heard from different quarters; while a timorous “greenhorn” would perhaps cry out, “Here, take my gun, you can out-shoot me!” The more daring bolted off to encounter the enemy at once, while the timid and cautious took a stand with presented rifle behind the wagons. The Indians who were in advance made a bold attempt to press upon us, which came near costing them dearly; for some of our fiery backwoodsmen more than once had their rusty but unerring rifles directed upon the intruders, some of whom would inevitably have fallen before their deadly aim, had not a few of the more prudent traders interposed. The savages made demonstrations no less hostile, rushing, with ready sprung bows, upon a portion of our men who had gone in search of water; and mischief would, perhaps, have ensued, had not the impetuosity of the warriors been checked by the wise men of the nation.

The Indians were collecting around us, however, in such great numbers, that it was deemed expedient to force them away, so as to resume our march, or at least to take a more advantageous position. Our company was therefore mustered and drawn up in “line of battle,” and, accompanied by the sound of a drum and fife, we marched towards the main group of the Indians. The latter seemed far more delighted than frightened with this strange parade and music, a spectacle they had, no doubt, never witnessed before, and perhaps looked upon the whole movement rather as a complimentary salute than a hostile array; for there was no interpreter through whom any communication could be conveyed to them. But, whatever may have been their impressions, one thing is certain,—that the principal chief (who was dressed in a long red coat of strouding, or coarse cloth) appeared to have full confidence in the virtues of his calumet; which he lighted, and came boldly forward to meet our war-like corps, serenely smoking the “pipe of peace.” . . .

The arrival of a caravan at Santa Fé changes the aspect of the place at once. Instead of the idleness and stagnation which its streets exhibited before, one now sees everywhere the bustle, noise and activity of a lively market town. As the Mexicans very rarely speak English, the negotiations are conducted in Spanish. . . .

Arrival at
Santa Fé.

Although a fair variety of dry goods, silks, hardware, etc., is to be found in this market, domestic cottons, both bleached and brown, constitute the great staple, of which nearly equal quantities ought to enter into a "Santa Fé assortment." The demand for these goods is such that at least one half of our stocks of merchandise is made up of them. . . .

Trade.

The wagons of the return caravans are generally but lightly laden. One to two thousand pounds constitute the regular return cargo for a single wagon; for not only are the teams unable to haul heavy loads, on account of the decay of pasturage at this season, but the approaching winter compels the traders to travel in greater haste; so that this trip is usually made in about forty days. The amount of freight, too, from that direction is comparatively small. The remittances, as has already been mentioned, are chiefly in specie, or gold and silver bullion. The gold is mostly dust, from the Placer or gold mine near Santa Fé: the silver bullion is all from the mines of the South—chiefly from those of Chihuahua. To these returns may be added a considerable number of mules and asses—some buffalo rugs, furs, and wool,—which last barely pays a return freight for the wagons that would otherwise be empty. Coarse Mexican blankets, which may be obtained in exchange for merchandise, have been sold in small quantities to advantage on our border.

The return
from
Santa Fé.

On the 4th of April, 1838, we departed from Santa Fé. Our little party was found to consist of twenty-three Americans, with twelve Mexican servants. We had seven wagons, one dearborn, and two small field-pieces, besides a large assortment of small-arms. The principal proprietors carried between them about \$150,000 in specie and bullion, being

for the most part the proceeds of the previous year's adventure. . . .

On the 11th of May we arrived at Independence, after a propitious journey of only thirty-eight days. . . .

CHAPTER XIX X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM, 1815-1830

68. THE MONROE DOCTRINE

(James D. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, II, 209 *passim*. December 2, 1823.)

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

The north-
west coast
and
Russia.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to im-

Spain and
Portugal.

prove the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly

No part in
European
wars.

European
nations
not to
meddle in
American
affairs.

No inter-
position by
European
States in
America.

disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the governments "de facto" as the legitimate governments for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the

United States will not interfere in internal concerns of European states.

parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course. . . .

69. THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF AND THE SOUTH

George McDuffie, representative in Congress from South Carolina, was, in 1830, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. He was noted for his knowledge of political economy. In a speech before the House, April 29, 1830, he set forth views which proved acceptable to his State and the South in general, namely, that the producers of the exports to foreign markets pay finally the duty on the imports.—(Congressional Debates, VI, part II, 843 *passim*.)

SIR, I am well convinced that the people of the United States have not realized, even in a partial degree, the nature and extent of the oppression under which the people of the southern states are laboring. . . .

If I shall succeed in showing that the States engaged in the production of cotton, tobacco, and rice, are taxed by the Federal Government in proportion to the amount of their exports, it will follow that those States pay very nearly two-thirds of the whole amount of the federal revenue. It will also follow that the states engaged in the production of cotton and rice alone, with a population of little more than two millions, pay more than half of that revenue. I am aware, sir, that these propositions are calculated to startle those who have not examined the subject attentively. Gentlemen will think it scarcely possible that any population in the world could have existed, in tolerable comfort, under such a weight of taxes. I will proceed, then, to the proof of the proposition, that the exports of the planting States indicate the proportion of federal taxes paid by these States, taking fairly into view the entire operation of our fiscal system. And I beg that those gentlemen who are in favor of the existing policy, will examine my arguments critically, and, if they can detect any fallacy in it, that they will expose it to this committee. My sincere desire is to arrive at the truth. If I am in error, it is my anxious wish that it may be clearly pointed out, as very important issues may probably hang upon it.

Taxation
in the
South.

If the Southern planters were to export their own productions in their own ships, and import, in the same way, the merchandise obtained in exchange for it, would any doubt exist that they actually paid into the treasury an amount of taxes proportioned to their exports? Exporting productions to the amount of thirty-seven millions of dollars, they would pay, assuming the average rate of the duties even at forty per cent., fourteen millions eight hundred thousand dollars, while the States producing cotton and rice would pay twelve millions. Now, as the importing merchant is nothing more than the agent of the planter, the true operation of import duties will be much more clearly perceived by dispensing with this agency. It tends to confuse the enquirer, by keeping out of view the real parties to the proceeding. The merchant certainly bears his own share of the burdens of federal taxation; but the burdens of the planter are in no degree diminished by that fact. I assume, then, that the planter is subjected to precisely the same burden, as a planter, that he would be if he had no factor or commercial agent, but exported his own produce himself, and imported what he obtained for it abroad. . . .

Proportion
of taxes
paid by
the South.

There are insuperable objections to the transfer of the capital and labor of the southern planter from the productions of their present staples to any other employment. It has been suggested that we might enter upon the manufacturing business. All our habits disqualify us for this sort of employment. It would require ten or fifteen years of ruinous experiment before we could acquire even a tolerable degree of skill, and, even then, we could not rival the manufacturers either of Europe or of the northern States of this Union. But, even if we could succeed so far as to equal our domestic competitors, where should we find a market for our productions? It would be absurd to go to Europe, and equally so to go to the manufacturing States of our own country. From Mexico we are excluded by absurd restrictions, in imitation of our own; and, wherever a foreign market might be open, we should find ourselves forestalled and excluded by the

Why no
manufac-
tures in
the South.

manufactures of Great Britain and New England. Is it not an insulting mockery, then, to tell us that we ought tamely to submit to a system which drives us from our natural pursuits, because we have the wretched privilege of embarking in the production of manufactures, which we have no skill in making, and for which we could find no market after they were made? Great Britain alone could supply the whole world with manufactures, at little more than half the price for which we could afford to make them.

It must be perfectly obvious, that, even with more oppressive burdens than they have yet borne, the Southern planters cannot, to any extent worth consideration, divert their capital and labor to other employments, and thereby diminish the production of their staples, with a view to an enhancement of their price. . . .

Effect of
protection
in the
South.

What, then, let us briefly inquire, is the tendency, and what has been the effect, of the high duties imposed for the purpose of protecting manufactures and other domestic productions? It is too plain to admit of argument: indeed it has been candidly admitted by the Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, in former discussions, that domestic productions can only be protected by prohibiting the foreign articles that would come in competition with them.

He openly avowed that he aimed at prohibition, and it would have been folly to have aimed at less, if he really meant to give protection. No duty can give any protection to any fabric which does not exclude a similar foreign fabric; and in the very nature of things, the amount of protection cannot exceed the amount of prohibition; though it may, and generally does, fall short of it. You cannot create a demand, for example, for any domestic manufacture, by legislation, otherwise than by excluding a similar foreign manufacture; and as your legislature is calculated to enhance the price of the article, you certainly cannot create by it a demand for a greater amount of the domestic fabric than you exclude of the foreign. It may be confidently assumed, therefore, that whatever may be the amount of iron and salt, and

manufactures of cotton, wool, iron, and hemp, which have been brought into existence in the United States by the system of high protecting duties, at least an equal amount of foreign rival productions has been excluded by those duties. It will not be deemed an extravagant estimate to suppose that the protecting system has caused to be produced, annually, articles of these various kinds, to the amount of twelve millions of dollars, which would not have been produced, but for the protection given them. It follows, then, as a corollary, that at least an equal amount of these foreign productions must have been excluded. But these are the very articles we receive from Great Britain, France, and Holland, in exchange for our agricultural staples. By excluding twelve millions of such articles, therefore, we necessarily diminish the foreign demand for our staples, and principally cotton, to that amount. There is scarcely any limit to the consumption of our cotton in Europe, but that which is imposed by our refusal to take manufactures in exchange for it. If, therefore we were permitted to import the twelve millions of dollars worth of manufactures that have been excluded by our commercial restrictions, or, rather, if they had never been excluded by those restrictions, it cannot be reasonably doubted that we should now have a demand in Europe for four hundred thousand bales of cotton, beyond the existing demand. Even, therefore, if we grant, what is not the fact, that the whole of the domestic demand for cotton has been produced by the prohibitory effect of our tariff, it will follow that we have gained a market for one hundred and fifty thousand bales, by sacrificing one for four hundred thousand. From this estimate, it will be seen that the prohibition of foreign imports has resulted in curtailing the entire demand for cotton in the markets of the whole world, including our own, two hundred and fifty thousand bales.

In addition then, to the annual burden he bears in paying the duties upon the imports he is still permitted to bring into the country, the planter sustains an annual loss of seven million five hundred thousand dollars, being the value of the

Loss to the
planter on
account of
tariff.

cotton for which he has lost a market, in consequence of the unjust restrictions imposed upon his lawful commerce by the suicidal policy of his own Government. . . .

Sectional-
ism.

The great misfortune is, sir—and it gives us the true key to the whole system—that, while this Government is an undivided and indivisible unity, the country over which it extends is divided into various and—disguise it as we may—diametrically adverse interests. Hence, it results, that the law which throws a restriction upon the commerce of the Southern States, to the great and obvious injury of the planter, is obviously calculated, and professedly intended, to promote the interest of the Northern manufacturer. If the manufacturer can gain ten per cent. by the restriction, it is his interest to adhere to it, though it impose a burden of forty or fifty per cent. upon the planter. Hence it is that the majority of this House are pursuing a policy without regard to the interests of the whole Union, which no human being would pursue in regard to his own interest. It is worth while, sir, to trace the operation of this policy a little more in detail. Great Britain, it is alleged, will not, or, which is the same thing, does not, in fact, purchase the grain of the northern, middle and western States, and, consequently, those States have nothing wherewith to purchase British manufactures. This is the complaint. Now, sir, if this be true, the wisdom of man could not more effectually exclude British manufactures, or give a more complete protection to domestic manufactures, in those States. If they have nothing to give in exchange for British manufactures, what earthly necessity is there to exclude them by law? The domestic manufacturer is absolutely secured against foreign competition by the single fact, that the British manufacturer will not take anything in exchange for his fabrics, which the people of those States have to give. What, then, is the real object of the restrictions which the tariff States are so anxious to throw about our foreign commerce? It is not sir, be assured, to prevent those States from importing British manufactures, who have nothing to give in exchange for them. That would

Tariff
favors a
section of
country.

be impotent and gratuitous legislation. The true object—disguise it as gentlemen may—is to prevent those States who have the means of paying for British manufactures, and who have a deep and vital interest in preserving that branch of commerce, from importing those manufactures, in order to promote the interest of those States who have not the means of paying for British manufactures, and who really have, or believe they have, a deep and vital interest in destroying that branch of commerce. Twist it and turn it as you may, “to this complexion it must come at last.” Hence it is, that to the gross inequality of the revenue system of the United States, the majority of Congress have superadded the intolerable burdens of the prohibitory system. Will any gentleman from Massachusetts, or Rhode Island, or Vermont, have the hardihood to maintain that the duties imposed on cotton and woollen manufactures, varying from forty to sixty per cent. are equally a burden upon his constituents as they are upon mine? Will any gentleman from Pennsylvania assert that the enormous duty upon iron imposes an equal burden upon the people of Pennsylvania and upon those of South Carolina? On the contrary, do not these gentlemen distinctly and openly avow that the duties which throw a grievous and oppressive burden upon the people of the Southern States, operate as a beneficial and sustaining bounty to the people of the northern and eastern States? . . .

Inequality
of tariff in
different
States.

This, sir, disguise it as gentlemen may, is the true question involved in the protecting system. The tariff States would permit every establishment within their limits to sink into utter ruin, before they would levy taxes from their own citizens to nourish and sustain them. That would be too plain and palpable a proceeding. It would instantly open the eyes of the people to the true character of the protecting system. It would tear off from the monster the veil which conceals its horrible deformity, and break its infatuating charm forever. If the protection afforded to the manufacturers by this Government were entirely withdrawn to-morrow, I do not believe there is a State Legislature in the

Union, that would dare to substitute an equivalent protection in the form of pecuniary bounties drawn from the people of the State, and appropriated from the public treasury. Nothing that could be possibly suggested, in the way of argument, would exhibit the palpable injustice of this system in so strong a light as the course pursued, in this respect, by the Legislatures of the tariff States.

Would any man believe, sir, that the Legislature of a sovereign State would memorialize Congress to protect the manufactures of that State, by imposing restrictions and duties upon the commerce of other States, when that Legislature, having the admitted power to protect those manufactures, utterly neglects to do it? yet such was the conduct of the Legislature of Massachusetts; and such is, substantially, the course pursued by the Legislatures of all the tariff States. . . .

Combina-
tion of
those
favoring
the tariff.

Men confederated together on selfish and interested principles, whether in pursuit of the offices or the bounties of Government, are ever more active and vigilant than the great majority, who act from disinterested and patriotic impulses. Have we not witnessed it on this floor, sir? Who ever knew the tariff men to divide on any question affecting their confederated interests? If you propose to reduce any one of the duties, no matter how obvious the expediency of the reduction, they will tell you, if not in plain words, at least by their conduct, that the duty you propose to reduce, is very oppressive and unjust, as in the case of salt; or very absurd and suicidal, as in the case of raw wool; but that, if you reduce either of these duties, a proposition will be made to reduce some other, and then some other, until the whole system of confederated interests will be shaken to its center. The watchword is, stick to-gether, right or wrong, upon every question affecting the common cause. Such, sir, is the concert and vigilance, and such the combinations by which the manufacturing party, acting upon the interests of some, and the prejudices of others, have obtained a decided and permanent control over public opinion in the tariff States.

All the representatives of those States, however decidedly opposed in principle to the prohibitory policy, are constrained to regard the interests of the manufacturers as that of their constituents at large. No man, sir, from a manufacturing district, would dare to vote against any measure, however unjust and oppressive, if it be only deemed beneficial to the manufacturers, and denominated a tariff. . . .

There is no form of despotism that has ever existed upon the face of the earth, more monstrous and horrible than that of a representative Government acting beyond the sphere of its responsibility. Liberty is an empty sound, and representation worse than a vain delusion, unless the action of the Government be so regulated that responsibility and power shall be co-extensive. Now, I would be glad to know, under what responsibility the majority of this House act, in imposing burden upon the industry of the Southern people, and in waging this merciless warfare against their commerce. Are they, in the slightest degree, responsible to those upon whom they impose these heavy burdens? Have they any feelings of common interest or common sympathy to restrain them from oppression and tyranny? Does the system of prohibitory duties, which falls with such a destructive power upon the dearest interests of the southern people, impose any burden, or inflict any injury at all, upon the constituents of that majority by which it has been adopted?

The South
burdened
by an
unjust
tariff law.

The very reverse of all this is true. The majority which imposes these oppressive taxes upon the people of the South, so far from being responsible to them, or to those who have any common interest or common sympathy with them, in relation to the matter, are responsible to the very men who have been for the last ten years, making the welkin ring with their clamors for the imposition of these very burdens. Yes, sir, those who lay the iron hand of unconstitutional and lawless taxation upon the people of the southern States, are not the representatives of those who pay the taxes, or have any participation in it, but the representatives of those who receive the bounty, and put it in their pockets. . . .

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW DEMOCRACY AND THE INCREASE OF SECTIONAL FEELING, 1830-1845

70. THE REAL ANDREW JACKSON

During a period of sixty-four years Josiah Quincy kept journals in which he gave his impressions of the men and events of his time.—(Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, 352 *passim*. Boston, 1901. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Co.)

Person-
ality of
Andrew
Jackson.

I was fairly startled, a few days ago, at the remark of a young friend who is something of a student of American History. "Of course," said he, "General Jackson was not what you would call a gentleman!" Now, although I had only a holiday acquaintance with the General, and although a man certainly puts on his best manners when undergoing a public reception, the fact was borne in upon me that the seventh President was, in essence, a knightly personage,—prejudiced, narrow, mistaken upon many points, it might be, but vigorously a gentleman in his high sense of honor and in the natural straightforward courtesies which are easily to be distinguished from the veneer of policy; and I was not prepared to be favorably impressed with a man who was simply intolerable to the Brahmin caste, of my native State. Had not the legislature of New Hampshire actually changed the name of a town from Adams to Jackson; thereby performing a contemptible act of flattery, which to the excited imagination of the period, seemed sufficient to discredit republican government forever after? Had not this man driven from their places the most faithful officers of government, to satisfy a spirit of persecution relentless and bitter beyond precedent?

I did not forget these things when I received Governor Lincoln's order to act as special aide-de-camp to the President during his visit to Massachusetts; and I felt somewhat out of place when I found myself advancing from one side of Pawtucket Bridge (on the morning of June 20, 1833) to meet a slender, military-looking person who had just left the Rhode Island side of that structure. . . . If I had suddenly received orders to express to General Jackson my detestation of his presidential policy, I think I should have been equal to the occasion. My business, however, was to deliver an address of welcome, and here was Jackson himself, advancing in solitary state to hear it. . . . As we rode through divers small towns, receiving salutes and cheers at their centers, the President talked constantly and expressed himself with great freedom about persons. His conversation was interesting from its sincerity, decision and point. It was easy to see that he was not a man to accept a difference of opinion with equanimity; but that was clearly because, he being honest and earnest, Heaven would not suffer his opinions to be other than right. Mr. Van Buren, on the other hand, might have posed for a statue of Diplomacy. He had the softest way of uttering his cautious observations, and evidently considered the impression every word would make. . . .

Jackson
in Massa-
chusetts.

Martin
Van
Buren.

At Roxbury, which we reached about four o'clock in the afternoon, we found a triumphal arch, and Mr. Jonathan Dorr to speak for the assembled citizens. The orator was, mercifully, very brief; indeed his speech consisted of little more than an original couplet:—

Jackson's
reception.

"And may his powerful arm long remain nerved
Who said: The Union, it must be preserved!"

"Sir," exclaimed Jackson, in reply, "it shall be preserved as long as there is a nerve in this arm!" . . .

On Monday the President was confined to his room and, indeed, to his bed by indisposition. He asked me to read the newspapers to him, and took great delight in the narratives of Jack Downing (the Mark Twain of the period),

who purported to accompany the presidential party and to chronicle its doings. "The Vice-President must have written that," said Jackson after some specially happy hit. "Depend upon it, Jack Downing is only Van Buren in masquerade." If it were permitted to doubt the infallibility of the medical faculty, I should have questioned whether phlebotomy was the best prescription in the world for the thin elderly gentleman upon the bed; but when my valued family physician, Dr. Warren twice guided the lancet, a layman's dissent would have been preposterous. I remember, upon another occasion, standing over the bedside of a friend prostrated by a most uncommon disorder and instinctively protesting when three of the most eminent physicians of Boston declared that there was no safety but in a thorough blood-letting. I mentioned the disorder in question to a distinguished doctor of the present day, and asked him whether bleeding would be resorted to in its treatment. "Never!" was the prompt reply. "Not under any circumstances." . . .

The morning of Wednesday, the 25th, was chilly and overcast, not at all the sort of day for an invalid to encounter the fatigues of travel and reception. At ten o'clock, nevertheless, the President appeared, and took his seat in the barouche and was greeted with the acclamations which will always be forthcoming when democratic sovereignty is seen embodied in flesh and blood. Very little flesh in this case, however, and only such trifle of blood as the doctors had thought not worth appropriating. But the spirit in Jackson was resolute to conquer physical infirmity. His eye seemed brighter than ever, and all aglow with the mighty will which can compel the body to execute its behests. He was full of conversation as we drove to Cambridge, to get that doctorate whose bestowal occasioned many qualms to the high-toned friends of Harvard. College degrees were then supposed to have a meaning which has long ago gone out of them; and to many excellent persons it seemed a degrading mummery to dub a man Doctor of Laws who was credited with caring for no laws whatever which conflicted with his personal will.

Medical
science.

Jackson's
will-power.

Jackson as
a doctor of
laws.

John Quincy Adams, I remember, was especially disturbed at this academic recognition of Jackson, and actually asked my father, who was then president of the college, whether there was no way of avoiding it. "Why, no," was the reply. "As the people have twice decided that this man knows law enough to be their ruler, it is not for Harvard College to maintain that they are mistaken." . . .

Fifty years have taught sensible men to estimate college training at its true worth. It is now clear that it does not furnish the exclusive entrance to paths of the highest honor. The career of Abraham Lincoln has made impossible a certain academic priggishness which belonged to an earlier period of our national existence. Jackson's ignorance of books was perhaps exaggerated, and his more useful knowledge of things and human relations was not apparent to his political opponents, to whom the man was but a dangerous bundle of chimeras and prejudices; but I do not need the testimony of a diary now before me to confirm the statement that his appearance before that Cambridge audience instantly produced a toleration which quickly merged into something like admiration and respect. The name of Andrew Jackson was, indeed, one to frighten naughty children with; but the person who went by it wrought a mysterious charm upon old or young. . . .

The exercises in the Chapel were for the most part in Latin. My father addressed the President in that language, repeating a composition upon which he somewhat prided himself, for Dr. Beck, after making two verbal corrections in his manuscript, had declared it to be as good Latin as a man need write. Then we had some more Latin from young Mr. Francis Brown, of the senior class, a gentleman whose name has since been associated with so much fine and weighty English. There were also a few modest words, presumably in the vernacular, though scarcely audible from the recipient of the doctorate.

But it has already been intimated that there were two Jacksons who were at that time making the tour of New

England. One was the person whom I have endeavored to describe; the other may be called the Jackson of comic myth, whose adventures were minutely set forth by Mr. Jack Downing and his brother humorists. The Harvard degree as bestowed upon the latter personage, offered a situation which the chroniclers of the grotesque could in no wise resist. A hint of Downing was seized upon, expanded as it flew from mouth to mouth, until, at last, it has actually been met skulking near the back door of history in form something like this. General Jackson, upon being harangued in Latin, found himself in a position of immense perplexity. It was simply decent for him to reply in the learned language in which he was addressed; but, alas! the Shakespearian modicum of "small Latin" was all that Old Hickory possessed, and what he must do was clearly to rise to the situation and make the most of it. There were those college fellows, chuckling over his supposed humiliation; but they were to meet a man who was not to be caught in the classical trap they had set for him. Rising to his feet just at the proper moment, the new Doctor of Laws astonished the assembly with a Latin address, in which Dr. Beck himself was unable to discover a single error. A brief quotation from this eloquent production will be sufficient to exhibit its character: "Caveat emptor; corpus delicti; ex post facto; dies iræ; e pluribus unum; usque ad nauseam; Ursa Major; sic semper tyrannis; quid pro quo; requiescat in pace." Now this foolery was immensely taking in the day of it; and mimics were accustomed to throw social assemblies into paroxysms of delight by imitating Jackson in the delivery of his Latin speech. . . .

He took leave of me with hearty cordiality. "Come and see me at the White House; or, better still, at the Hermitage, if I live to return to it." I left him feeling that he had moderated his views, and would be a wiser President than he had been. The astounding measure known as the Removal of the Deposits soon dissipated these hopeful fancies. The transference of the national money to the "Pet Banks" pro-

duced temporary inflation, to be followed by years of utter business stagnation. Never again could President Jackson have been warmly welcomed to Massachusetts. . . .

71. INAUGURATION OF ANDREW JACKSON, 1829

(Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, *Diaries and Family Letters*, edited by Gaillard Hunt, *Scribner's Magazine*, XL, November, 1906, pp. 616-622.)

March 11, Sunday [1829].

. . . Thursday morning. I left the rest of this sheet for an account of the inauguration. It was not a thing of detail, of a succession of small incidents. No, it was one grand whole, an imposing and majestic spectacle & to a reflective mind one of moral sublimity. Thousands & thousands of people, without distinction of rank, collected in an immense mass round the Capitol, silent, orderly & tranquil, with their eyes fixed on the front of that edifice, waiting the appearance of the President in the portico. The door from the Rotunda opens, preceded by the marshals, surrounded by the Judges of the Supreme Court, the old man with his grey locks, that crown of glory, advances, bows to the people, who greet him with a shout that rends the air, the Cannons, from the heights around, from Alexandria & Fort Warburton, proclaim the oath he has taken & all the hills reverberate the sound. It was grand—it was sublime! An almost breathless silence succeeded & the multitude was still—listening to catch the sound of his voice, tho' it was so low, as to be heard only by those nearest to him. After reading his speech, the oath was administered to him by the Chief Justice. The Marshal presented the Bible. The President took it from his hands, pressed his lips to it, laid it reverently down, then bowed again to the people—Yes, to the people in all their majesty. And had the spectacle closed here, even Europeans must have acknowledged, that a free people, collected in their might, silent & tranquil, restrained solely by a moral power, without a shadow around of military force, was majesty,

Inaugural
scenes.

rising to sublimity, & far surpassing the majesty of Kings & Princes, surrounded with armies & glittering in gold. But I will not anticipate, but will give you an account of the inauguration in more detail. The whole of the preceding day, immense crowds were coming into the city from all parts, lodgings could not be obtained, & the newcomers had to go to George Town, which soon overflowed & others had to go to Alexandria. I was told the Avenue & adjoining streets were so crowded on Tuesday afternoon that it was difficult to pass.

A national salute was fired early in the morning, & ushered in the 4th of March. By ten oclock the Avenue was crowded with carriages of every description, from the splendid Barronet & coach, down to waggon & carts, filled with women & children, some in finery & some in rags, for it was the peoples President, & all would see him; the men all walked. . . . The terraces, the Balconies, the Porticos seemed as we approached already filled. We rode round the whole square, taking a view of the animated scene. Then leaving the carriage outside of the palisades, we entered the enclosed grounds, . . . from the South Terrace we had a view of Pennsylvania & Louisiana Avenues, crowded with people hurrying towards the Capitol. It was a most exhilarating scene! . . . We stood on the South steps of the terrace; when the appointed hour came saw the General & his company advancing up the avenue, slow, very slow, so impeded was his march by the crowds thronging around him. Even from a distance, he could be discerned from those who accompanied him, for he only was uncovered, (the Servant in presence of his Sovereign, the People). The south side of the Capitol hill was literally alive with the multitude, who stood ready to receive the hero & the multitude who attended him. "There, there, that is he," exclaimed different voices. "Which?" asked others. "He with the white head," was the reply. "Ah," exclaimed others, "there is the old man & his gray hair, there is the old veteran, there is Jackson." At last he enters the gate at the foot of the hill & turns to the road that leads

round to the front of the Capitol. In a moment every one who until then had stood like statues gazing on the scene below them, rushed onward, to right, to left, to be ready to receive him in the front. . . . The Portico & grand steps leading to it, were filled with ladies. Scarlet, purple, blue, yellow, white draperies & waving plumes of every kind & colour, among the white marble pillars, had a fine effect. In the centre of the portico was a table covered with scarlet, behind it the closed door leading into the rotunda, below the Capitol & all around, a mass of living beings, not a ragged mob, but well dressed & well behaved respectable & worthy citizens. . . . The sun had been obscured through the morning by a mist, or haziness. But the concussion in the air, produced by the discharge of the cannon, dispersed it & the sun shone forth in all his brightness. At the moment the General entered the Portico & advanced to the table, the shout that rent the air, still resounds in my ears. When the speech was over, & the President made his parting bow, the barrier that had separated the people from him was broken down, & they rushed up the steps all eager to shake hands with him. It was with difficulty he made his way through the Capitol & down the hill to the gateway that opens on the avenue. Here for a moment he was stopped. The living mass was impenetrable. After a while a passage was opened & he mounted his horse which had been provided for his return (for he had walked to the Capitol) then such a cortege as followed him! Country men, farmers, gentlemen, mounted & dismounted, boys, women & children, black & white. Carriages, wagons & carts, all pursuing him to the President's house,—this I only heard of for our party went out at the opposite side of the square & went to Col. Benton's lodgings, to visit Mrs. Benton & Mrs. Gilmore. Here was a perfect levee, at least a hundred ladies & gentlemen, all happy & rejoicing,—wine & cake was handed in profusion. We sat with this company & stopped on the summit of the hill until the avenue was comparatively clear, tho' at any other time we should have thought it terribly crowded. Streams of people

Inaugural
reception.

on foot & of carriages of all kinds, still pouring towards the President's house. . . . We set off to the President's House, but on a nearer approach found an entrance impossible, the yard & avenue was compact with living matter. . . . We continued promenading here, until near three, returned home unable to stand & threw ourselves on the sofa. Some one came & informed us the crowd before the President's house, was so far lessen'd, that they thought we might enter. This time we effected our purpose. But what a scene did we witness! The *Majesty of the People* had disappeared, & a rabble, a mob, of boys, negroes, women, children, scrambling, fighting, romping. What a pity, what a pity! No arrangements had been made, no police officers placed on duty & the whole house had been inundated by the rabble mob. We came too late. The President, after having been *literally* nearly pressed to death & almost suffocated & torn to pieces by the people in their eagerness to shake hands with Old Hickory, had retreated through the back way or south front & had escaped to his lodgings at Gadsby's. Cut glass & china to the amount of several thousand dollars had been broken in the struggle to get the refreshments, punch & other articles had been carried out in tubs & buckets, but had it been in hogsheads it would have been insufficient, ice-cream, & cake & lemonade, for 20,000 people, for it is said that number were there, tho' I think the estimate exaggerated. Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses & such a scene of confusion took place as is impossible to describe,—those who got in could not get out by the door again, but had to scramble out of windows. At one time, the President who had retreated & retreated until he was pressed against the wall, could only be secured by a number of gentlemen forming round him & making a kind of barrier of their own bodies, & the pressure was so great that Col. Bomford who was one at one time, said he was afraid they should have been pushed down, or on the President. It was then the windows were thrown open, & the torrent found an outlet, which otherwise might have proved fatal.

This concourse had not been anticipated & therefore not provided against. Ladies & gentlemen, only had been expected at this Levee, not the people en masse. But it was the People's day, & the People's President & the People would rule. God grant that one day or other, the People, do not put down all rule & rulers. I fear, enlightened Freemen as they are, they will be found, as they have been found in all ages & countries where they get the Power in their hands, that of all tyrants, they are the most ferocious, cruel & despotic. The noisy & disorderly rabble in the President's House brought to my mind descriptions I had read, of the mobs in the Tuilleries & at Versailles. I expect to hear the carpets & furniture are ruined; the streets were muddy, & these guests all went thither on foot. . . .

Everybody is in a state of agitation,—gloomy or glad. A *universal removal* in the departments is apprehended, & many are quaking & trembling, where *all* depend on their places.

The city, so crowded & bustling, by to-morrow will be silent & deserted, for people are crowding away as eagerly as they crowded here. . . .

72. CHICAGO IN 1837

During the thirties there were many accounts of the West written by travellers, describing the facilities for trade, fertility of the soil, and rapidity of the growth of population.—(H. L. Ellsworth, *A Sketch of the State of Illinois*, also *Suggestions to Emigrants*. Philadelphia, 1837.)

The city of Chicago is the largest place in the state of Illinois, and has grown up almost entirely within the last seven years. Its growth, even for western cities, has been unexampled. In Dr. Beck's *Gazetteer*, published in 1823, Chicago is described as a village of 10 or 12 houses, and 60 or 70 inhabitants. In 1832, it contained five small stores, and 250 inhabitants; and now (1837) the population amounts to 8000, with 120 stores, besides a number of groceries; of the former, twenty sell by wholesale. It has also twelve

Growth of
Chicago.

public houses, three newspapers, near fifty lawyers, and upwards of thirty physicians.

Steamboat
communi-
cation.

Chicago is connected by means of the numerous steamboats, ships, brigs, schooners, etc., that navigate the great fresh water seas of the north, with all the different trading ports on lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, and especially with Buffalo, to and from which city various lines of regular packets are constantly departing and arriving. Some of the steamboats are of great power and burthen. The James Madison, built last winter at Erie, Pennsylvania, expressly for the Chicago, Milwaukee, and Buffalo trade, on her first trip in May of the present year, carried over 4000 barrels freight, and upwards of 900 adult passengers, besides a large number of children; and the receipts for the voyage were estimated at 18,000 dollars. It is intended to have this vessel leave Chicago and Buffalo every 18 days. The James Madison is 185 feet in length, 31 feet beam, and 45 feet in width on deck including the guards, 12 feet depth of hold, 720 tons burthen, and propelled by a high-pressure horizontal engine of 180 horse power.

Imports.

The merchandize imported into Chicago in the year 1836 amounted in weight to 28,000 tons, and in value to upwards of three millions of dollars, beside a vast number of immigrants with their families, provisions, etc. There arrived in the same year 456 vessels, including 49 steamboats, 10 ships and barques; the rest, brigs, schooners, and sloops. During the last winter, 127 teams, loaded with merchandize for the country, were counted in the street in one day.

Religious
organiza-
tions.

The Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, each have houses of worship. There are likewise one or more insurance companies, fire companies, water-works for the supply of water from the lake, several good schools, and a respectable academy. A large ship-yard has been commenced near the city. An extensive brewery, a steam saw and grist mill, and a large furnace, are all in successful operation. The building of an Academy of Fine Arts is likewise contemplated, and measures are about being

Manufac-
tures.

taken to obtain for it a collection of paintings. The care which the original surveyors took to give the prairie winds a full sweep through this city, has distinguished it as the most healthful place in the western country, and has made it the resort of a large number of people during the sickly season. The natural advantages of the place, and the enterprise and capital that will concentrate here, with the favourable prospects for health, must soon make this the emporium of trade and business for all the northern country. The completion of the canal will give Chicago a water communication with all the principal cities in the country: the high prices given for produce, and the ready market, will make it the grand resort of the Western farmers.

Natural
advan-
tages.

Chicago is built on level ground, but sufficiently elevated above the highest floods to prevent overflow; and on both sides of the river, for a mile in width, along the shore of the lake, the land is a sand-bank: but back of the city, towards the Des Plaines river, is a rich and fertile prairie, and for the first three or four miles dry and elevated. The following description of the country in the vicinity of this place is from the pen of Mr. Schoolcraft:

Location.

“The country around Chicago is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. It consists of an intermixture of woods and prairies, diversified with gentle slopes, sometimes attaining the elevation of hills, and irrigated with a number of clear streams and rivers, which throw their waters partly into lake Michigan, and partly into the Mississippi river.—As a farming country, it unites the fertile soil of the finest lowland prairies, with an elevation which exempts it from the influence of stagnant waters, and a summer climate of delightful serenity; while its natural meadows present all the advantages for raising stock, of the most favoured part of the valley of the Mississippi. It is already the seat of several flourishing plantations, and only requires the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands, to become one of the most attractive fields for the emigrant. To the ordinary advantages of an agricultural market-town, it must

hereafter add that of a depot for the inland commerce between the northern and southern sections of the union, and a great thoroughfare for strangers, merchants, and travellers."

Along the north branch of the Chicago, and the lake shore, are extensive bodies of fine timber. Large quantities of white pine exist in the regions towards Green Bay, and about Grand river in Michigan, from which lumber in any quantities is obtained, and conveyed by shipping to Chicago. Yellow poplar boards and plank are brought across the lake from the St. Joseph's river. The mail in post-coaches from Detroit, arrives here tri-weekly, and departs for Galena, for Springfield, Alton, and St. Louis, and for Danville and Vincennes.

The United States has a strip of elevated ground between the town and lake, about half a mile in width, on which Fort Dearborn and the lighthouse are situated, but which is now claimed as a pre-emption right, and is now in a course of judicial investigation.

Fort
Dearborn.

Fort Dearborn was for a considerable period occupied as a military station by the United States, and garrisoned generally by about three companies of regular troops; but the expulsion of the Indians, and the rapid increase of settlements at all parts of this region, have rendered its further occupancy as a military post unnecessary: in consequence, the troops have been recently withdrawn. It consists of a square stockade, inclosing barracks, quarters for the officers, a magazine, provision store, etc., and is defended by bastions at the northern and south-east angles. . . .

Rapid
growth of
Chicago.

Chicago is, without doubt, the greatest wonder in this wonderful country. Four years ago the savage Indian there built his little wigwam—the noble stag there saw undismayed his own image reflected from the polished mirror of the glassy lake—the adventurous settler then cultivated a small portion of those fertile prairies, and was living far, far away from the comforts of civilization. Four years have rolled by, and how changed that scene! That Indian is now driven far west of the Mississippi; he has left his native hills—his

hunting grounds—the grave of his father—and now is building his home in the far west, again to be driven away by the mighty tide of emigration. That gallant stag no longer bounds secure o’er those mighty plains, but startles at the rustling of every leaf or sigling of every wind, fearing the rifles of the numerous Nimrods who now pursue the daring chase. That adventurous settler is now surrounded by luxury and refinement; a city with a population of over six thousand souls has now arisen; its spires glitter in the morning sun; its wharves are crowded by the vessels of trade; its streets are alive with the busy hum of commerce.

The wand of the magician or the spell of a talisman ne’er effected changes like these; nay, even Aladdin’s lamp, in all its glory, never performed greater wonders. But the growth of the town, extraordinary as it is, bears no comparison with that of its commerce. In 1833, there were but four arrivals—or about 700 tons. In 1836, there were four hundred and fifty-six arrivals, or about 60,000 tons. Point me if you can to any place in this land whose trade has been increased in the like proportion. What has produced this great prosperity? I answer, its great natural advantages, and the untiring enterprise of its citizens. Its situation is unsurpassed by any in our land.

Lake Michigan opens to it the trade of the north and east, and the Illinois and Michigan canal, when completed, will open the trade of the south and south-west. But the great share of its prosperity is to be attributed to the enterprize of its citizens: most of them are young—many there are upon whose temple the golden lock of youth is not darkened; many who a short time since bade adieu to the fascinations of gay society, and immured themselves in the western wilderness, determining to acquire both fame and fortune. And what has been the result?—While many of their companions and former associates are now toiling and struggling in the lower vale of life, with scarcely enough of the world’s gear to drive away the cravings of actual want—the enterprising adventurer has amassed a splendid fortune—has contributed

Citizens.

to build a noble city, the pride of his adopted state, and has truly caused the wilderness to bloom and blossom like the rose. Such are always the rewards of ever daring minds. . . .

Oppor-
tunities
in the
West.

That those who possess sufficient intelligence, to appreciate and understand the advantages of this country, and a spirit of enterprise that will support them under the privations they must necessarily encounter, will be charmed and gratified with their western tour, I have no doubt; nor do I question that Illinois, in the progress of another year, will rank among her citizens, many of the most intelligent and enterprising of our sister states. That this country possesses advantages of a most important character, and offers many attractions to the youthful adventurer—to him who would acquire both fame and fortune, can, I think, easily be shown, and I would present a few considerations tending to illustrate the subject.

And I will premise by saying, that there is no truth more evident to the reflecting mind, than that in this transatlantic world, every one must be the architect of his own fortune—no matter what course of life is adopted, be it professional or mechanical, the basis upon which every hope of future eminence must rest is, diligent, untiring, persevering application. Assuming this fact as granted, I would refer to the superiority of the western portion of our continent over the eastern, as regards the acquisition of wealth—professional eminence—political distinction, and the opportunity offered of exercising influence on societies and the destinies of our common country.

As respects the acquisition of wealth—the great basis of all wealth is the agricultural interest, and that country must be the richest, which is the most capable of supporting the largest agricultural population. Land, rich and fertile soil, is the foundation of a nation's glory. It is true, that commerce tends much to enrich a people, and large, nay, immense fortunes, have been made in the pursuit of trade. But who does not know the mutations of trade?—Who is not cognizant of the fluctuations of commerce? Who is ignorant

of the fact, that he who is engaged in commercial transactions may to-day be master of thousands, and roll in splendour and luxury, and to-morrow be a bankrupt, and know not where to lay his head? Do you seek for the evidence of this fact? Go to any of our large cities and inquire, and you will find the sad truth written in indelible characters, so plain that he who runs may read.

Now none of these mutations and fluctuations afflict the agricultural or producing class of society—no panics or pressures occur among them—a stormy sea cannot swallow up their earnings, nor a raging fire destroy the toil of years. The seed is dropped into the ground, and, “He who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb,” sends the genial sunshine and refreshing showers, and the ripe and yellow harvest awaits the labourer’s gathering.

Now, land in the western world is rich and fertile, and I will venture to say, that the soil of one of the prairies is more productive than any soil in your much loved state, not even excepting the far-famed Lancaster county, where the toil and labour of many years has been expended in improving it. This rich and fertile soil can be entered at \$1.25 per acre, or bought “second-hand” for from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per acre. And it has been proved by actual experiment, that an enterprising settler can break and sow 80 acres, and from the profits of his crop can realize a sufficient sum to enter and pay for his land; thus in one year, by the toil and labor of his hand, acquiring a fee-simple title to a fine and improving farm. In what portion of the eastern states can this be done? “I pause for a reply.” Again—wealth will be acquired by the natural increase of the country.

This whole region (particularly the states of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin Territory,) is filling up with great and unexampled rapidity. The increase of the country is truly wonderful, and one who has not witnessed it can scarcely believe it. The growth and prosperity of Chicago may be taken as a fair example of the unprecedented increase and advancement of the country. Cities and towns spring up in

Growth
of the
North-
west.

every quarter, and a mighty tide of emigration is rolling far and wide its fertilizing influence.

A small sum of money now judiciously invested, will increase in a ratio not even dreamed of by an eastern capitalist. Speak to them of the advantages of this region, and they smile, and tell you, you are exercising the powers of a fertile imagination. . . .

Advantages over the East.

Among the number of advantages which the West has over the East, may be enumerated the following:—In the East, the professions are monopolized by the older members—in the West, the responsible duties of the professions are confided to the young men.

2. In the West, greater inducements for the acquisition of a fortune being held out by the farming or agricultural interests, and great privations having necessarily to be encountered, the number of professional men is fewer than at the East, and consequently the field is more ample.

3. In a new country, every thing being to build up and construct, greater opportunity is offered for the exercise of professional talent.

4. The tendency of a new country being to develop and bring forward youthful talent, exerts a highly favorable influence upon boldness, force, and originality of intellect.

In illustration of the first proposition, we need but appeal to the experience of every young professional man. How few, how very few, even of our most active and intelligent young men can, in our large eastern cities, earn a respectable livelihood! One or two of the most eminent and experienced monopolize the most important and lucrative portions of the business. The community look up to them with confidence, for they believe their minds are matured by wisdom and ripened by experience, and the young men are permitted to remain in almost total inactivity. . . .

Now, in the West the population is mostly young, consisting chiefly of youthful adventurers, who have left their peaceful homes with the determination to reap the advantages of a new country. A young professional man has enlisted in

his behalf, not the cold and sordid influence of those whose feelings have been chilled by a contact with a selfish world, but the warm and glowing feelings of early youth. He is there surrounded not by the aged fathers of the profession—those whose brows are silvered o'er by the frosts of time—not the experienced soldiers who have conquered o'er and o'er again in the fight, and advance to the contest, confident of success; but he beholds himself surrounded by his equals—his companions and associates, each striving to gain the prize of public approbation—each struggling to win the pure and spotless laurels which will crown the victor's brow.

In illustration of the second proposition, we can only add, that there can be no doubt that if the acquisition of wealth be the object of pursuit, greater inducements are held out by the farming and agricultural interest. A professional life is at all times a life of toil, and he who aspires to its highest honors must remember that they are only to be attained by untiring unremitting effort. The pecuniary emoluments are small compared with other occupations of life, and he who desires professional eminence must not expect to reap the same amount of this world's good as he whose soul is engaged in the pursuit of trade.

Now an enterprising emigrant, when he leaves his native village, as he turns to take the last lingering look at the home of his affections—as he beholds the spire of the village church, where so oft he has worshipped the God of his fathers, glittering in the morning sun, the last wish which animates his bosom, is the hope of some not far distant day, returning to the scenes of his childhood, where every object brings some sweet association, laden with the fruits of his toil. In fine, it is wealth that he hopes to attain, and it is the prospect of reaping golden fruits which enables him manfully to endure the privations to which he is subjected. He arrives at the land of promise, and examines the prospect of improving his fortune which the country affords. He finds that the tiller of the soil is the one who reaps the most productive harvest, and no matter what profession he may have adopted,—no

matter what branch of science may have hitherto occupied his attention—he relinquishes its pursuit—forgets the obligations his profession imposes on him, and forsakes his calling to assume the manly and independent, but at the same time more profitable employment of the farmer. . . .

73. BEGINNING OF STEAM RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION

(Niles Weekly Register, August 28, 1830, Vol. 39, p. 12; June 25, 1831, Vol. 40, pp. 291, 292.)

Beginning
of the
Baltimore
and Ohio
Railroad.

The following neat account of the present state of this road, is copied from the "American" of the 20th. inst. We have recently passed over it, and with a still increased satisfaction. We passed a considerable distance over the road prepared for the rails, beyond Ellicott's mills—the scenery of which we think cannot be surpassed for its beauty—but we almost regretted the necessity of removing the "Tarpeian Rock," however convenient its matter for filling up ravines, or building bridges—being just exactly located where a vast mass of stone was needed. . . .

Interest in
the rail-
road.

It was supposed by some that after public curiosity had been satisfied by a ride on the rail road, the interest in relation to it would subside, and that the number of visitors would decrease. The result of every day's experience shows, however, that the supposition was quite erroneous, for the traveling between Baltimore and Ellicott's mills continues to be prosecuted to as great an extent as at any period since the opening of the road. There are now in daily use on the road six elegant carriages made by Imlay, besides a number of others of less costly construction. Visitors, therefore, have a full choice of carriages, and may engage any favorite seat or seats, or a whole carriage, according to the number of the party. The rate of travel is usually about ten miles an hour, and frequently, indeed, greater, so that the transition from the heat and dust of the city to the pure air of the country is effected in a few minutes, and without fatigue. Nor is it

to be wondered at that those who have once made this truly delightful trip should desire to repeat it, for the novelty, ease and perfection of the mode of conveyance, the gigantic character of the work itself with its granite viaducts, deep excavations and high embankments, and the diversified and romantic scenery which constantly presents itself,—all combine to render the excursion one of the most attractive and delightful any where to be met with. Strangers from all parts of the union are constantly visiting the road, and while all freely express the highest gratification, it is often a subject of remark that our western fellow citizens regard it with that peculiar interest and satisfaction which evince the strongest desire for its success. The double track is completed to the west of Vinegar Hill, a distance of nearly seven miles; and as the carriages do not always use the same track, the traveller is enabled to see with what perfect facility a carriage may cross from one track to another. The number of turns out, or crossing places, where carriages may thus pass, is ten in the distance just mentioned. The granite rails, composed of long blocks of that solid and imperishable material, commences immediately beyond Vinegar Hill, and will extend the remainder of the second track, except at the Still House run embankment, up to the mills. The blocks are deposited along the greater part of the track, and parties of workmen are engaged at different points in the various operations of dressing, laying and drilling, and affixing the iron. From the character of the contractor who has this part of the work in hand, there is no doubt that it will be finished within the specified period. The granite rails are to be laid at a price little if any exceeding the cost of those of wood. The triple-arched viaduct at Ellicott's mills, for the purpose of conducting the rail road over the turnpike, is advancing with due speed. The arches might be completed in a few days, if desired. The structure is of solid granite, with a rusticated exterior. In place of the usual parapet walls above the arches, an iron railing will be erected which, besides being more economical, will also form more appropriate

Construction of the road.

finish to the work. The famous Tarpeian Rock, so generally known to the visitors to the mills, is now suffering a gradual diminution of its eastern or front side, in order to make a passage for the road up the Patapsco. The fragments of rock and earth are conveyed by means of a temporary railway across the turnpike, and serve to fill up the ravine at the southern end of the viaduct.

The visitor who chooses to mount, by the pathway from the hotel, to the summit of the rock, or to clamber along the rough passage around its base, will find that the second division is completely graduated for a distance of twelve miles. Contracts have been made, it will be recollected, for laying down rails of granite for the whole extent of this division, and the work is now going on. The third division was let out, in part, last month, the cost of preparing which for the reception of the rails will be about seven thousand dollars per mile. The remaining part of this division will be let out next week, and the road will then be finished or in progress to Parr's Spring Ridge, a distance of forty miles. The road will surmount the ridge by means of an inclined plane worked by steam power. As soon as the requisite examinations can be made, the rest of the road to Frederick and the Potomac will be placed under contract.

Transportation by
railroad.

Many persons smiled when, about two years ago, we contemplated the arrival of fat oxen from the south branch of the Potomac, &c. by way of our railroad—fresh as in their own pastures, and fit for immediate use; but we see it stated in the Liverpool papers, that, on a certain day, forty-nine Irish pigs quitted Liverpool in one carriage, and arrived safely at Manchester, after a most noisy journey. The respectable quadrupeds evidently did not like the new mode of travelling, and in passing through the tunnel made an outcry which “echoed through the hollow dark abyss,” and startled all within hearing. Since that time upwards of three hundred of the tusky herd have made the same journey, being probably the first set of pigs that have travelled in a locomotive since the creation of the world. The fare for a pig is

eighteen pence, being not quite half the fare of a pig driver. The company will begin to carry cattle very shortly, several commodious carriages having been constructed for their accommodation. . . .

The second division of this road, extending twelve miles beyond Ellicott's was, for the first time opened for public use on Sunday last. As only one track of rails is yet fully laid, passengers can only just now be accommodated when the working cars do not occupy the track—but the second line of rails will soon be completed. This great work goes on, generally, in the very best manner, and it is no longer allowed to doubt the triumphant success of the undertaking. Its progress, however, is about to be impeded by the controversy with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal company as to the right of way, at the "Point of Rocks"; at which it is now desired to employ many laboring men.

Baltimore
and Ohio
Railroad.

The work on this division is executed in the most masterly manner. Its course is on the bank of the Patapsco to the forks of that river, passing through a granite district, rugged and rough, but the cost of it has not been large. The present termination of the road—26 miles from the depot in Baltimore, is nearly three hundred feet above tide. This rapid climbing of the mountains is not perceived—indeed passengers, unacquainted with the facts, always suppose they are descending though when actually rising as much as 20 feet in a mile.

The country is hilly, or rather mountainous, and the scenery beautiful—in some parts magnificent.

An accident (says the Baltimore Gazette of Saturday last) occurred on the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road this morning, which we mention to prevent the circulation of alarming reports. The editor was one of seven persons in a car propelled by two horses travelling on a wagon with a moving floor—constructed by Mr. Stimpson, which conveyed, besides the two vehicles, ten persons at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles per hour.

On the return home between the Carrollton viaduct and

the depot, a cow crossed the rail way so near the car which was in front, that it was impracticable to stop it in time to prevent it from running against her—the car was of course overset, and the passengers were all thrown out, but none, as we believe, seriously injured. The editor received two or three bruises, which he feels happy to say are but slight—two others were more severely hurt, but, as already stated, we believe not seriously.

The accident is not imputable to any want of care on the part of Mr. Stimpson, or to any defect in the car—it is such an accident as might have happened to any other moving power and could not have been foreseen or guarded against. The unfortunate cow was killed.

The experiment was entirely unconnected with any of the operations of the company.

Speaking of Mr. Stimpson's car, the editor of the Gazette further says—

The experiment made on Saturday, with the car moved by horses travelling in it on a moving floor, was entirely satisfactory as to the mode of applying horse power, so as to cause a great increase of velocity without increased exertion to the horses.

The ingenious inventor has so constructed his car that the horses moving it, by walking at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, propel the car at the rate of fifteen miles per hour, evidently with as little fatigue as horses experience in ploughing, or travelling with a wagon conveying a moderate load. This rate of speed appears to us the medium, which may be used without injury to the horses. It may be increased on a level, or descending rail-way free from short curves—and should be reduced in ascending or on very crooked roads. If the use of horse power should be continued on our rail roads, such a mode of applying it would be important; indeed indispensable for travelling at a greater medium of speed than ten miles an hour.

As the day approaches more near for the trial of the locomotive steam engines on the Baltimore and Ohio rail road,

Use of
horses on
railroad.

Trial of
locomotives.

our citizens are anxiously looking for the arrival of such as it is known were constructing for the purpose. We have already two in the city which will be ready for the amicable contest—they will probably both be on the road during the present week.

It will be recollected by our friends at a distance, who desire to witness the trial, that it will commence on Monday next, and continue for three days before any decision can be made. We are daily expecting another engine from Philadelphia, which we saw partly constructed about a month ago, and which we hope will arrive in time, as well as the others of which we have heard. . . .

Steam Wagon! The locomotive engine, plying on the Charleston rail road, exploded on the 17th inst. by which the engineer was severely scalded, one negro badly wounded and two slightly, one of whom was the fireman, who caused the accident, by pressing on the safety valve to prevent the escape of the steam, when the carriage was stopped at the revolving platform!

Effect of Steam Coaches. Under this head, a late English periodical observes:—"The man who started the first steam carriage was the greatest benefactor to the cause of humanity the world ever had. Nothing could so successfully produce such complete mitigation, or rather abolition of animal suffering, as the substitution of locomotive machinery for the inhuman, merciless treatment of horses in stage coaches." In a political point of view, too, the writer regards the subject as one of vast importance. We have, says he, a superabundant population, with a limited territory; while each horse requires a greater quantity of land than would be sufficient to support a man! How extensive, then, will be the beneficial effects of withdrawing two-thirds of the horses, and appropriating the land required for them, to the raising of cattle, and to agricultural purposes. The Liverpool and Manchester steam coaches have driven fourteen horse coaches off the road already. Each of these coaches employed twelve horses,

**Influence
of steam
cars.**

there being three stages, and a change of four horses each stage:—the total number of horses employed was therefore 168. Each horse, it is calculated, consumes on an average in pasturage, hay, corn, &c. annually, the produce of one acre and a half. The whole number would thus consume the produce of 252 acres. Now, suppose “every man had his acre” upon which to rear his family, (which some politicians have deemed sufficient) the maintainance of 252 families is gained to the country by these steam coaches! Taking the average number in a family at six, it will be seen, that the subsistence of 1512 individuals is thus obtained. . . .

Steam car-
riages on
common
roads.

It appears by the following article which we copy from the London Times, that steam carriages on common roads are in successful operation in England. There can be no doubt, over a well constructed turnpike, that steam instead of horse power would be of infinite advantage to the people of this country, and we feel confident that some one of our very enterprising stage proprietors will make arrangements for its early introduction into the U. States. The pioneer in such an undertaking would certainly make a fortune, as it would be impossible for any other individual to compete with him on a well travelled route, with the usual means of conveyance by horse power. The immense reduction in fare would of itself set all competition at defiance, and the increase of travel produced as a necessary consequence, would more than make up for the great difference in the price between old and new rates.

FROM THE LONDON TIMES

Some of the advantages to the public from the use of steam on the turnpike roads already begin to show themselves. Previous to the starting of the steam coach between Gloucester and Cheltenham, the fare was 4s. each person—now the public are taken by all the coaches at 1s. per head. On Tuesday morning the steam coach took 33 passengers from Cheltenham to Gloucester in 50 minutes.

If the proprietors of the common coaches can now afford to run for one shilling instead of four, the former rates, it is a pretty commentary upon their consciences, when the public were in their power. But it is probable that they are now running without profit, and must in a short time retire and yield to the superiority of steam. Gloucester is ten miles from Cheltenham, and as the steam cars travel it in fifty minutes, they go at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which we should think ought to be fast enough over a common road, to satisfy the most anxious. . . .

74. THE FIRST EXPRESS COMPANY AND OPPOSITION TO THE RAILROAD

(Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, 352 *passim*. Boston, 1901.)

The sources from which mighty rivers take their rise have always been interesting to explorers. They find some petty rivulet, which oozes out of the mud, and marvel that its feeble current should swell till it bears the commerce of a nation. The beginnings of great departments of human enterprise have something of the same interest, and I have just found an old letter, addressed to me on the 27th of October, 1838, which led to results quite overpowering in their magnitude. The writer is William F. Harnden. He tells me that he has applied for a post of conductor upon the Western Railroad, and solicits my influence, as treasurer of the road, "should you think me worthy of the office." Harnden had been selling tickets at the Worcester Railroad depot, but found this occupation much too sedentary for his active nature. He was a man who wanted to be moving. For some reason, which I do not recall, Harnden did not get the conductorship; but his application brought me in contact with this lithe, intelligent young fellow, who wished to be on the go, and I suggested to him a new sort of business, which in the hands of a bright man I thought might be pushed to success. As director and president of the Provi-

Origin of
express
com-
panies.

dence Railroad, I was compelled to make weekly journeys to New York, where the bulk of our stock was held. The days of my departure were well known, and I was always met at the depot by a bevy of merchants' clerks, who wished to intrust packages of business papers, samples of goods, and other light matters to my care. The mail establishment was at that time utterly insufficient to meet the wants of the public. The postage was seventeen cents upon every separate bit of paper, and this was a burdensome tax upon the daily checks, drafts, and receipts incident to mercantile transactions. I was ready to be of service to my friends, though some of them thought my good nature was imposed upon when they found that I was obliged to carry a large travelling-bag to receive their contributions. I kept this bag constantly in sight on my journey, and, upon arriving in New York, delivered it to a man whom the merchants employed to meet me and distribute its contents. Now, it occurred to me that here was an opportunity for somebody to do, for an adequate compensation, just what I was doing for nothing. I pointed out to Mr. Harnden that the collection and delivery of parcels, as well as their transportation, might be undertaken by one responsible person, for whose services the merchants would be glad to pay. The suggestion fell upon fruitful soil. Harnden asked me for special facilities upon the Boston and Providence road, which I gladly gave him, and with the opening year he commenced regular trips (twice a week, I think he made them), bearing in his hand a small valise; and that valise contained in germ the immense express business,—contained it as the acorn contains the forest of oaks that may come from it; but many generations are required to see the magnificence of the forests, while the growths of human enterprise expand to their wonderful maturity in one short life. Harnden's fate was that too common with pioneers and inventors. He built up a great business by steady industry, saw all its splendid possibilities, tried to realize them before the time was ripe, and died a poor man, at the age of thirty-three. In attempt-

ing to extend the express business to Europe, he assumed risks that were ruinous, and the stalwart Vermonter, Alvin Adams, took his place as chief in the great industry which had arisen under his hands.

"When you speak of the opposition that our early railroads encountered," said a young man to me the other day, "you refer, of course, to the difficulty of inducing people to take stock in them. Nobody could have objected to the increase of facilities for transportation, provided he was not asked to pay the bills." But it happened that I did mean just what I said: and perhaps the most singular phenomenon in the history of early railroads was the bitter opposition they encountered from leading men, whose convenience and pecuniary interests they were directly to promote. The believer in railroads was not only obliged to do the work and pay the bills for the advantage of his short-sighted neighbor, but as Shakespeare happily phrases it, "cringe and sue for leave to do him good." Can I furnish proof of this incredible statement? Yes, I have it before me at this moment, and it is worth giving with some detail.

Early opposition to railroads.

The old town of Dorchester, which some years ago was annexed to Boston, has within its ancient limits nine railroad stations, and at those most frequented about fifty trains stop daily. The main road, known as the Old Colony, passes over a route which I caused to be surveyed at my own expense, with the view of providing cheap transportation for the towns of Dorchester and Quincy and others to the south of them. I need not say that the land made accessible by this railroad has become very valuable, and that the business and population of the old town of Dorchester cluster about the stations. If any tyrant could tear up those tracks and prevent them from being relaid, his action would paralyze a prosperous community, and might well be called a *calamity* by those most careful in weighing their words. Now, can the reader believe that the very word I have italicized was chosen so late as 1842 by the inhabitants of the town of Dorchester, in regular town-meeting, assembled to express

their sense of the injury that would result to them and their possessions by laying a railroad track through any portion of their territory? No, there can be no mistake about it. Here is the report of their meeting, authentic in contemporaneous type, and duly attested by Mr. Thomas J. Tolman, town clerk. A leading business man was chosen moderator, and a committee of six prominent citizens was appointed to oppose the passage of a railroad through the town. The resolutions are worth reporting with some fulness. The first declares it to be the opinion of the inhabitants of the town of Dorchester that a railroad upon either of the lines designated by those asking for a charter "will be of incalculable evil to the town generally, in addition to the immense sacrifice of private property which will also be involved. A great portion of the road will lead through thickly settled and populous parts of the town, crossing and running contiguous to public highways, and thereby making a permanent obstruction to a free intercourse of our citizens, and creating great and enduring danger and hazard to all travel upon the common roads."

The second resolution declares that if, in spite of the protest of the inhabitants of Dorchester, their town must be blighted by a railroad, "it should be located upon the marshes and over creeks," and by thus avoiding all human habitations and business resorts "a less sacrifice will be made of private property and a much less injury inflicted upon the town and public generally." The concluding resolution is one of those jewels (rather more than five words long) that must suffer by any curtailment:—

"Resolved, That our representatives be instructed to use their utmost endeavors to prevent, if possible, 'so great a *calamity* to our town as must be the location of any railroad through it; and, if that cannot be prevented, to *diminish* this calamity as far as possible' by confining the location to the route herein designated."

The italics are, of course, mine. They are quite irresistible. But when "calamities" threaten, the good man does

not do his whole duty by protesting in town-meeting. There is the powerful agency of the press, throughout which oppressors may be rebuked and their horrible projects brought to naught. Let me quote a few extracts from a newspaper article. It was written by a citizen of Dorchester and appeared shortly after the meeting. The writer has been speaking of existing facilities for water transportation, which he thinks should content certain inhabitants of the town of Quincy who are petitioning for a railroad.

"What better or more durable communication can be had than the Neponset River or the wide Atlantic? By using these, no thriving village will be destroyed, no enterprising mechanics ruined, no beautiful gardens and farms made desolate, and no public or private interests most seriously affected. Look at the rapid growth of Neponset village, through which this contemplated road is to run (the citizens of which are as enterprising and active as can be found, many of whom have invested their *all* either in trade, mechanics, manufactures, or real estate), and all—all are to be sacrificed under a car ten thousand times worse for the public than the car of Juggernaut! Look at the interests, for instance, of the public house in this place, kept by a most estimable citizen, who has ever——"

But I have no heart to copy further. In the wreck of an entire community we can spare no tears for the woes of a single tavern-keeper. The ruins of that once prosperous village of Neponset are, even to this day, visited by reflective tourists. I think I mentioned that the Old Colony Company has a way of stopping some fifty trains there, in order to accommodate moralists, who take a melancholy satisfaction in musing among them. . . .

75. PROGRESS IN THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS, 1834

Michel Chevalier was sent to the United States in 1834 by M. Thiers, then French Minister of the Interior, for the purpose of inspecting the public works of this country. For two years he travelled through the various States, and made known his observations to the French Government through a series of letters notable for their general accuracy of detail. He discussed also social and political conditions. Unlike most of the European travellers who came to America about this time, he is singularly free from prejudice in his descriptions of the character of Americans and of their social and political institutions.—(Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States*, 83 *passim*. Translated by T. G. Bradford. Boston, 1839.)

Desire for
communi-
cation
with the
West.

Hardly was the war of independence at an end, when the great men whose patriotism and courage had brought it to a happy close, filled with ideas of the wealth yet buried in the bosom of the then uninhabited West, began to form plans for rendering it accessible by canals. . . . Washington at that time projected the canal which has since been begun according to the plans of Gen. Bernard, and which seeks the West by following up the Potomac, but from want of capital and experienced engineers, what in our day has become a long and fine canal, was then merely a series of side-cuts around the Little Falls and Great Falls of the Potomac. . . . The works undertaken at that time and during the fifteen first years of the present century could not be completed, or failed in the expected results. One work only was successfully executed, the Middlesex Canal, which extends from Boston to the River Merrimac at Chelmsford, a distance of 27 miles.

Early
canals.

Few canals
and good
roads,
1812.

The war of 1812 found the United States without canals, and almost without good roads; their only means of intercourse were the sea, their bays, and the rivers that flow into them. Once blockaded by the English fleets, not only could they hold no communication with Europe and India, but

they could not keep up an intercourse among themselves, between State and State, and between city and city, between New York and Philadelphia for instance. Their commerce was annihilated, and the sources of their capital dried up.

The lesson was hard but it was not lost. The project of a canal between New York and Lake Erie which had already been discussed before the war, was eagerly taken up again after the peace. DeWitt Clinton succeeded in inspiring his countrymen with his own noble confidence in his country's great destiny, and the first stroke of the spade was made on the 4th of July, 1817, . . . in spite of the remonstrances of the illustrious Madison, who wrote that it would be an act of folly on the part of the State of New York to attempt with its own resources only, the execution of a work for which all the wealth of the Union would be insufficient; notwithstanding all opposition, this State which did not then contain a population of 1,300,000 inhabitants, began a canal . . . and in eight years it had completed it. . . . Since that time it has continued to add numerous branches, covering almost every part of the State as with net-work.

Erie
Canal.

The results of this work have surpassed all expectations; it opened an outlet for the fertile districts of the western part of the State, which had before been cut off from a communication with the sea and the rest of the world. The shores of Lake Erie and Ontario were at once covered with fine farms and flourishing towns. The stillness of the old forest was broken by the axe of New York and New England settlers, to the head of Lake Michigan. The State of Ohio which is washed by Lake Erie, and which had hitherto had no connection with the sea except by the long southern route down the Mississippi, had now a short and easy communication with the Atlantic by way of New York. The territory of Michigan was peopled, and it now contains 100,000 inhabitants, and will soon take its rank among the States. The transportation of the Erie Canal exceeded 400,000 tons in 1834, and it must nearly reach 500,000 tons in 1835. . . . New York is become the third, if not the second port in the world,

Influence
of Erie
Canal.

and the most populous city of the western hemisphere. . . . The Erie Canal is no longer sufficient for the commerce which throngs it. In vain do the lock-masters attend night and day to the signal horn of the boatmen, and perform the process of locking with a quickness that puts to shame the slowness of our own. . . . The impatience of commerce with whom time is money, is not satisfied with a rate of speed about four-fold that which is common on our own canals. Merchandise of all sorts, as well as travellers, flows in at every point in such quantities, that railroads have been constructed along the borders of the canal, to rival the packet-boats in the transportation of passengers only. There is one from Albany to Schenectady, 15 miles in length, which though not well built, cost about 550,000 dollars. A second, which will be finished in 1836, runs from Schenectady to Utica, and is 78 miles in length.* A third railroad is in progress from Rochester to Buffalo by way of Batavia and Attica, about 80 miles in length, and it is probable before long the line will be completed from one end of the canal to the other. . . .

Railroads.

A still greater undertaking is already in train; a company was chartered in 1832; which will begin next spring the construction of a railroad from New York City to Lake Erie, through the southern counties of the State; . . .

Branch
canals.

Finally, to make herself more entirely mistress of the commerce of the West, and to penetrate her own territory more completely, the State of New York is about to commence a new branch of the Erie Canal (if we may call a work of which the entire length will be 120 miles, a branch) which will form an immediate connection with the River Ohio. . . .

When there could no longer be a doubt of the speedy completion of the Erie Canal, Philadelphia and Baltimore felt

* The legislature incorporated the company on the express condition that they should transfer only travellers and their baggage. Notwithstanding this provision, when the books were opened seven times the amount of capital needed was subscribed; the sum required was \$2,000,000; the amount of subscriptions \$14,000,000.

that New York was going to become the capital of the Union. The spirit of competition aroused in them a spirit of enterprise. They wished also to have their routes to the West; . . . It became necessary for them, therefore, to climb the loftiest heights, and thence to descend to the level of the Ohio with their works.

Rivalry
of cities
for West-
ern trade.

. . . From Philadelphia a railroad 81 miles in length, extends to the Susquehanna at Columbia. To the Columbia railroad, succeeds a canal, 172 miles in length which ascends the Susquehanna and the Juniata to the foot of the mountains at Holidaysburg. Thence the Portage railroad passes over the mountain to Johnstown, a distance of 37 miles, by means of several inclined planes, constructed on a grand scale, with an inclination sometimes exceeding one-tenth, which does not, however, deter travellers from going over them. From Johnstown a second canal goes to Pittsburg, 104 miles. This route is subject to the inconvenience of three transhipments. . . .

The Pennsylvania canal, begun in 1826, was finished in 1834. The State has connected with this work a general system of canalization, which embraces all the principal rivers, . . .

Still less than Philadelphia, could Baltimore think of a continuous canal to the Ohio. Wishing to avoid the transshipments which are necessary on the Pennsylvania line, the Baltimoreans decided on the construction of a railroad extending from their city to Pittsburg or Wheeling, . . . It is now finished as far as Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, a distance of 80 miles, and the company seem to have given up the design of carrying it further. . . .

The old idea, which Washington had cherished, of making the political capital of the Union a great city, was not less to the taste of Mr. Adams and his friends. It was, therefore, resolved to undertake the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and a company was incorporated for this purpose. . . . The execution is on a bold scale, and superior to that of the works before mentioned. . . .

Chesa-
peake and
Ohio
Canal.

Parallel to the preceding line which is designed for the transportation of bulky articles, is another farther inland for the use of travellers and the lighter and more valuable merchandise, on which steam is becoming the only motive power, both by land and by water; by land on railways, and by water in steamboats. You go from Boston to Providence by a railroad 42 miles in length, . . . which cost 33,000 dollars a mile. From Providence to New York, passengers are carried by the steamboats in from 14 to 18 hours; some boats have made the passage in 12 hours. . . .

Travel
from New
York to
Phila-
delphia.

Between New York and Philadelphia, you go by steamboat to South Amboy, 28 miles, whence a railroad extends across the peninsula to Bordentown, and down along the Delaware to Camden, opposite Philadelphia. In summer a steamboat is taken at Bordentown, but in winter the Delaware is frozen over, and the railway is then used through the whole distance to transport the crowd that is always going and coming between the commercial and financial capitals of the United States, between the great mart and the exchange of the Union, between the North and the South. . . . I met many persons at Philadelphia, who remembered having been two, and sometimes three long days on the road to New York; it is now an affair of seven hours, which will soon be reduced to six. . . .

Phila-
delphia to
Baltimore.

From Philadelphia to Baltimore, the route is continued by steamboat to Newcastle and a railroad from thence to Frenchtown, across the peninsula, $16\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, whence another steamboat takes the traveller to Baltimore in 8 or 9 hours after starting from Philadelphia. . . .

Balti-
more to
Washing-
ton and
South.

From Baltimore you may also go to Washington, by a branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and thence by steamboat down the Potomac to a little village, 15 miles from Fredericksburg from which a railroad is now in progress to Richmond. . . .

Southern
railroads.

There is, therefore, a great void of 325 miles, between the Roanoke and Charleston, the chief city of South Carolina, or rather of 275 miles between the Roanoke and Columbia,

the capital of that State. . . . From Charleston, a railroad 136 miles in length, extends through the uncultivated and feverish zone of sand and pine-barrens to the cotton-region; it terminates at Hamburg, on the River Savannah, opposite Augusta, which is the principal interior cotton-market. . . . Its construction is peculiar in this respect, that where its level is above that of the surface, recourse has been had to piles instead of embankments; the railway, thus perched upon stilts from 15 to 25 feet high, certainly leaves something to be desired in regard to the safety of travellers, . . . Another singular circumstance about it is, that it was constructed almost entirely by slaves. This road was undertaken with the purpose of diverting the cotton, which descended the river Savannah to the town of the same name, from that place to Charleston, and it has fully answered the expectations of its projectors. . . .

The anthracite beds of Pennsylvania have caused the construction of a much more extensive series of works. At present hardly any other fuel is consumed on the coast for domestic and manufacturing purposes than the anthracite, which is found only in a small section of Pennsylvania, lying between the Susquehanna and the Delaware. . . .

Communica-
tion
with the
anthracite
coal fields.

. . . The aggregate length of all the works which I have already enumerated, including only those that are finished or far advanced, is 3,025 of canal, and 1,825 miles of railroad, made at a cost of above 112 millions. . . . The impulse is, therefore, given, the movement goes on with increasing speed, the whole country is becoming covered with works in every direction. If I were to attempt to enumerate all the railroads, of which the routes are under survey, which have been or are on the point of being authorized by charters from the several legislatures, for which the subscription is about to be opened, or has already been filled up, I should be obliged to mention all the towns in the Union. . . .

Extent of
internal
improve-
ments.

The spectacle of a young people, executing, in the short space of fifteen years, a series of works, which the most powerful States of Europe with a population three or four times as

Enterprise
of Ameri-
cans.

great, would have shrunk from undertaking, is in truth a noble sight. . . .

The millions which the European nations raise so easily for war, that is to say, to destroy and slaughter each other, would not certainly be wanting to their princes for the execution of useful enterprises. . . .

Railroad
speculation.

In fact there is a perfect mania in this country on the subject of railroads. . . . Thus the Americans have railroads in the water, in the bowels of the earth, and in the air. The benefits of the invention are so palpable to their practical good sense, that they endeavor to make an application of it everywhere and to everything, right or wrong, and when they cannot construct a real, profitable railroad across the country from river to river, from city to city, or from State to State, they get one up, at least, as a plaything, or until they can accomplish something better, under the form of a machine. . . .

The distance from Boston to New Orleans is 1600 miles. It is highly probable, that within a few years this immense line will be covered by a series of railroads stretching from bay to bay, from river to river, and offering to the ever impatient Americans the service of rapid cars at the points where the steamboats leave their passengers. This is not a castle in the air, like so many of those grand schemes which are projected amidst the fogs of the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne; it is already half completed. . . .

76. ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 1833

Extracts from the "Declaration of Sentiments" of the Convention assembled in Philadelphia to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. . . .

We have met together for the achievement of an enter-

prise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete; and which for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity and spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task masters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving,—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the laws, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection and more ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion they suffer the pangs of hunger, the inflic-

tion of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence. . . .

Hence we maintain—that in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—that no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him for one moment, as a piece of merchandize—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African. . . .

We further believe and affirm—That all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others—That the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man—Because Slavery is a crime, and therefore it is not an article to be sold—Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners, it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself—Because immediate and general emancipation would only

destroy nominal, not real property: it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and, because, if compensation is given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard, as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. . . .

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.

We shall send forth Agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke.

We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freeman rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. *We* may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. . . .

Done in Philadelphia, this sixth day of December, A. D. 1833.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY
SOCIETY

Art. II. The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate* abandonment without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those por-

tions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia,—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

Art. III. This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual and moral worth, share and equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

Art. IV. Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society and is not a slaveholder, may be a member of this Society. . . .

CONSTITUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Art. I. This Society shall be called the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Art. II. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

77. THE FIRST TELEGRAPH LINE, 1844

Samuel F. B. Morse, at the time of his graduation from Yale, 1810, was ambitious to become a painter. For a number of years he devoted himself to the painting of portraits and made rapid progress. His fame was established as the inventor of the electric telegraph. Although other men disputed his right to the invention, his claims were finally established. While returning from Europe, 1832, he devised the dash and dot alphabet, but his model was not completed until 1835. In December, 1837, having a few months earlier secured a patent, he applied to Congress for assistance in building a telegraph

line, but the session closed without making the necessary grant. He then went to Europe with the hope of interesting foreign governments, but in this was likewise unsuccessful. Upon returning to the United States he was in debt, and it is stated that during the next four years, because of his poverty, he was known to have gone as long as twenty-four hours at a time without food.—(Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, pp. 192–194. Philadelphia, 1875.)

Exhibition
of the
telegraph.

On the opening of the third session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, Mr. Morse, of telegraphic celebrity, obtained leave to set up his telegraph in the lower rooms of the Capitol, in order to exhibit to Senators and members its operation, he being an applicant for an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars with which to establish an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore.

No one dreamed then that continents, separated by oceans, could be connected by telegraphic wires, and messages transmitted, almost instantaneously, between the most distant parts of the earth, crossing rivers, bays, lakes and oceans.

The rooms in which were the termini of this temporary illustrative telegraph were almost constantly filled by Senators, members of the House, and others, and the two operators were often kept busy for hours transmitting messages to and from those in the different rooms, to the great wonder of those who sent and those who received them. They could hardly credit their senses. Members in the different rooms would carry on for some time a jocose conversation full of wit, point, and repartee, to the great amusement of others in the rooms, apparently with as much ease as if they stood face to face. Still, it was no easy matter to convince many that this telegraph could be made practically useful to the world. It was considered by some as a sort of Redheffer's perpetual-motion machine—might do for short distance, but impracticable for long ones. However, there were others who, if they could not see all of the great results to be wrought by this invention, or discovery—and who could at that time?—were satisfied that it was destined to effect great results.

Mr. Morse asked for an appropriation of thirty thousand

Regarded
as imprac-
ticable.

dollars; and a bill was introduced authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to make an experiment, by erecting a line of telegraph—of a single wire—from Washington to Baltimore, and making an appropriation for that purpose.

Appropriation asked for.

The bill came up and was considered in committee of the whole on the 21st of February. It met with most decided opposition, its opponents, not numerous, endeavoring to kill it by ridicule. Mr. Cave Johnson, who, a little more than a year after this, was Postmaster-General, moved that one-half of the appropriation be expended in making experiments in mesmerism, which was sustained by twenty votes. Another member moved that the Secretary use the appropriation in trying an experiment to construct a railroad to the moon. Other ridiculous propositions were made, some of them creating much merriment and pleasant badinage among members. Prominent among the opponents of the bill were Cave Johnson and George W. Jones, of Tennessee; Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire, Commissioner of Patents under Mr. Polk; George S. Houston and William W. Payne, of Alabama; William Pettit and Andrew Kennedy, of Indiana; and Samuel Gordon, of New York. Mr. Pettit, of Indiana, afterwards a Democratic Senator, opposed it, and looked upon all magnetic telegraphs as miserable chimeras, fit for nothing. Nobody who did not understand the Pottawatomie or some other outlandish jargon could know what the telegraph reported.

Governor Wallace, of Indiana, who voted for the appropriation, was superseded by William J. Brown, one of the leaders of the Democratic party, who made the vote of Governor Wallace the great theme of his electioneering canvas.

But, finally, the opposition gave up, and the bill was reported to the House, and passed by a small majority.

Bill passed.

While the bill was undergoing the ordeal of ridicule in the committee of the whole, Mr. Morse stood leaning on the bar of the House, or railing, in a state of intense excitement and anxiety. Seeing him thus, I went to him, remarking that he

appeared to be much excited. He turned and said, "I have an awful headache," putting his hand to his forehead. I said, "You are anxious." "I have reason to be," he replied; "and if you knew how important this is to me, you would not wonder. I have spent seven years in perfecting this invention, and all that I had; if it succeeds, I am a made man; if it fails, I am ruined. I have a large family, and not money enough to pay my board bill when I leave the city." I assured him he need not feel so anxious as the bill would pass. "Are you sure of it?" he asked. "Yes, perfectly; all this ridicule goes for nothing." He was soon relieved by the vote, first in the committee, and then in the House. I seldom met him in after years that he did not recall the conversation between us, and remark how much relief my assurance gave him. The ridicule cast upon his great invention, or discovery, whichever it may be, mortified him, and led him to fear the defeat of the bill. By its passage he was, as he said, "A made man": one of the celebrities of the world, whose fame can never die so long as man can flash words over continents and under oceans with a speed that utterly annihilates time and space. The name of Morse and the electro-magnetic telegraph are forever inseparable. . . .

Practical
use of
telegraph.

Mr. Morse had completed his telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore just previous to the sitting of the Democratic convention, and was ready to report its proceedings every fifteen minutes. The terminus of the line in Washington was in a room adjoining the Supreme Court room, under the Senate-Chamber, now the Supreme Court room. Here he received and communicated dispatches during the sitting of the convention, and read them to the large crowd assembled around the window, manifesting the most intense interest in the proceedings at Baltimore, as they were from time to time received and read aloud.

It was a novelty. Every few minutes it would be reported that Mr. So-and-so had made such a motion, and in a minute or two, "the motion has failed," or, "has carried," as the case might be. Again, "A ballot is being taken," etc. "Mr.

Polk has been proposed, and a vote is being taken; such a State has voted for Mr. Polk,—such and such and such States have voted for him; he has received two-thirds, and is nominated.”

This talking with Baltimore was something so novel, so strange, so extraordinary, and upon a matter of such intense interest, that we could hardly realize the fact. It seemed like enchantment, or a delusion, or a dream.

When the telegraph announced that a vote was being taken for James K. Polk for President, and he had been nominated, the Democrats received the intelligence in silence, not knowing what to make of it. . . .

CHAPTER XXI

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND GROWTH OF THE SLAVERY ISSUE

78. THE OREGON TRAIL, 1848

Jessy Quinn Thornton set out from Quincy, Ill., April, 1846, for Oregon, accompanied by his wife. They migrated with the hope that the change of climate would restore them to health. He became judge of the Oregon Supreme Court.—(Jessy Quinn Thornton, Oregon and California Trail in 1848, Vol. I, 13 *passim*.)

Independ-
ence the
starting-
point.

In due time we arrived at Independence, Missouri, the place of rendezvous. . . .

The town of Independence was at this time a great Babel upon the border of the wilderness. Here might be seen the African slave with his shining black face, driving his six-horse team of blood-red bays, and swaying from side to side as he sat upon the saddle and listened to the incessant tinkling of the bells. In one street, just driving out of town, was an emigrant, who having completed all his preparations, was about entering upon the great prairie wilderness; whistling as though his mouth had been made for nothing else. The shrill notes seemed to come up from the bottom of a throat without "a stop."

Santa Fé wagons were coming in, having attached to them eight or ten mules, some driven by Spaniards, some by Americans resembling Indians, some by negroes, and others by persons of all possible crosses between these various races; each showing in his dress as well as in his face some distinctive characteristic of his blood and race. The traders had been out to Santa Fé, and having sold their goods in ex-

change for gold dust, dollars, and droves of mules, were then daily coming in; the dilapidated and muddy condition of their wagons, and wagon-sheets, as the sore backs of their mules, all giving evidence of the length and toil of the journey they had performed and were now about to terminate.

Merchants were doing all in their power to effect the sale of supplies to emigrants. Some of the emigrants were hurrying to and fro, looking careworn, and many of them sad, as though the cloud had not yet passed away, that had come over their spirits, as they tore themselves from friends and scenes around which had clustered the memories of the heart. One was seen just starting, calling out to his oxen, and cracking his whip as though the world were at his control. Although some four or five children in the wagon were crying in all possible keys, he drove on, looking as cheerful and happy, as though he was perfectly sure that he was going to a country where the valleys flowed with milk and honey. Behind the wagon, with her nose almost over the end board, an old mare slowly and patiently stepped along as though she knew that she was carrying "mother" and "the baby"; and therefore must not stumble on any account.

May 12.—During the day we passed many immense wagons carrying from 60 to 70 cwt. of goods for the Santa Fé market.

Beginning
the
journey.

May 13.—We set off this morning for the Indian country. Before noon we passed the last fixed abode of a white man—the last cabin—and immediately afterward entered the territory of the Shawnees. We continued to meet wagons returning from Santa Fé. We also met thirty Indians. In the afternoon we overtook Ex-Governor Boggs and some California emigrants.

We encamped at night in an open prairie, without wood for fires; and with ill-tasting water rendered impure by decayed vegetable matter.

May 15.—About the middle of the afternoon, Ex-Governor Boggs and myself, with our wagons, teams, and those of some others, came up with the main body of the California

Numbers
and equip-
ment.

emigrants, consisting of 63 wagons, under Col. W. H. Russell, who were still considered as being at the rendezvous, having moved forward a little, but having halted again for emigrants whom they expected to join them. We were immediately invited to attach ourselves to their party, and to remain with them until those of us who proposed to go to Oregon, should find ourselves in sufficient numbers, by new accessions, to form a company of our own.

In the evening, an inquiry was instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the sufficiency of the wagons, teams and provisions; the number and sort of arms; the amount of powder and lead; the number of persons capable of bearing arms, and the number of all other persons of either sex. The following are believed to be the numbers: wagons, 72; men, 130; women, 65; children, 125; breadstuff, 69,420 lbs.; bacon, 40,200 lbs.; powder, 1,100 lbs.; lead, 2,672 lbs.; guns, mostly rifles, 155; pistols, 104; cattle and horses, estimated at 710.

The wagons were generally new, strong, and well painted. They were all covered with strong linen or cotton drilling; some of them being painted, so as more effectually to repel the rain. Some of the wagons had "California" painted on the cover; some of them displayed "Oregon"; some added in large letters, "The whole or none"; some "54° 40'". . . . All were obliging and kind; and there was even an extraordinary absence of selfishness; suffering, want, and privations, mental anxiety, hardship, and exhausting labor, had not yet blunted the moral perceptions of any, excited cupidity, and selfishness, or dried up the fountains of the heart's best and purest affections.

Motives
for migra-
tion.

May 16.—We were now *en route*, some for Oregon and some for California. Many who had large families of children were removing to Oregon with the hope of finding a more salubrious climate than the one they had left, and of obtaining from the government of the United States a grant of land which would enable them to maintain their families in an honorable independence. Some had become involved

in pecuniary embarrassments, and having sold their property to pay their creditors, could not consent to remain where they must necessarily see their former pleasant homes in the hands of others; and they had resolved upon making an effort to retrieve their fallen fortunes in Oregon, where they flattered themselves that if they accomplished no more, they would at least avoid a position in which the wealth and splendid equipages of others would upbraid them for their poverty. Others had, during a long time, their yearly acquisitions taken from them by eager creditors, who had thus crippled their resources, depressed their energies, and deprived them of all hope either of paying their debts or of being able to educate their children. They hoped that by emigrating to Oregon they would for a few years escape harassing observation, and thus be able to accumulate the means of meeting all their engagements. Many were in pursuit of health. Some were actuated by a mere love of change; many more by a spirit of enterprise and adventure; and a few, I believe, knew not exactly why they were thus upon the road. The motives which thus brought this multitude together were, in fact, almost as various as their features. They agreed in the one general object—that of bettering their condition; but the particular means by which each proposed to attain this end, were as various as can well be imagined. These remarks apply with equal force to the California emigrants, with the exception that some of them expected to obtain grants of land in that country from the government of Mexico.

Nor were the people less different in their general appearance, manners, education and principles. The majority were plain, honest, substantial, intelligent, enterprising and virtuous.

May 17.—Mr. Webb, editor of the "Independence Exposition," and a Mr. Hay, arrived in camp a little after dark, having come direct from the settlements to communicate to us the last intelligence we should receive before arriving at the Pacific. The letters and papers brought by them, gave

Beginning
of the
Mexican
War.

us positive information of the commencement of hostilities, and of the perilous position of the noble and gallant Taylor. But I did not doubt that the resources of his great mind and his unsurpassed military skill, would enable him to extricate himself in a manner that would be honorable to the American arms, and add additional lustre to a name already greatly endeared to his admiring countrymen; . . .

May 21.—We continued our journey seven miles to a creek, the banks of which were so steep as to make it necessary to let down the wagons by means of ropes into the stream, when teams were doubled for the purpose of drawing them up the opposite bank. The process was difficult and tedious, but was at length accomplished. . . .

Mr. Alfonso Boone, a grandson of the celebrated Daniel Boone, and a brother-in-law of Ex-Governor Boggs, came up with us in the afternoon. After the first ordinary camp duties were over, the men amused themselves by target-shooting with the rifle. At night the cattle were driven into the *kraal*, to prevent the Indians from stealing them.

May 22.—This morning thirteen wagons, near half of which belonged to Mr. Gordon, of Jackson County, Mo., separated from our party, assigning as a reason for so doing, that the company was too large to move with the necessary celerity. A restlessness of disposition and dissatisfaction, produced by trifling causes, and a wish to rule rather than to be ruled, to lead rather than be led, are the sources of frequent divisions and subdivisions of companies. . . .

Under this date, I find the following, among other remarks, in Mrs. Thornton's journal: "I saw many Indians, one of whom offered all his money to Mr. Thornton for his squaw's parasol. Squaw did not think proper to part with it."

May 25.—We traveled until about the middle of the afternoon; but scarcely had we got our tents spread, when a tremendous storm of wind and rain came up, accompanied by vivid lightning and almost deafening thunder. The rain poured in torrents down the hill sides and tumbled tumultuously into the streams below. . . .

Difficulty
in crossing
streams.

Amuse-
ments of
travellers.

Dissen-
sion.

A storm.

May 26.—In the evening, Ex-Governor Boggs, Mr. J. F. Reed, Mr. George Dormer, and some others, including myself, convened in a tent, according to an appointment of a general meeting of the emigrants, with the design of preparing a system of laws for the purpose of preserving order, etc. We proposed a few laws, without, however, believing that they would possess much authority. Provision was made for the appointment of a court of arbitrators, to hear and decide disputes, and to try offenders against the peace and good order of the company.

Government of party.

May 27.—A meeting was held about nine o'clock to hear and decide upon the report of the committee. A man named E—— made use of violent language against our leader, Col. Russell, and the sub-captain. E—— had been disappointed in not being elected to the latter post. He finally moved the appointment of a committee to try the officers when charged with neglect of duty, or improper treatment of any of the party. The motion prevailed, whereupon the officers resigned. A few moments' reflection showed the evil consequences of permitting E—— to control in any degree the company. The resolution was rescinded by a large majority, and the former officers re-elected by acclamation. . . .

May 28.—The river having fallen more than fifteen inches during the night, the whole party after breakfast were desired to unite in the construction of large canoes, to be used when lashed together, as a sort of raft, upon which to take our wagons over the stream. The call was not generally responded to; nevertheless a number of persons went. Two large cotton-wood trees about four feet in diameter, were felled, from which two canoes twenty-five feet in length were commenced. It was intended to unite them, by means of cross timbers, so as to admit the wheels of the wagon into them; and then to attach lines to both ends of this "Blue River Rover," as it was called, and by pulling backward and forward, convey over all our wagons and goods.

Crossing river.

May 31.—The wagons having been all carried across, the animals were driven in, and caused to swim the stream,

Many of the men came up shivering violently. The perpetual vexations and continued hard labor of the day had kept the nerves of most of the men in a state of great irritability. Two drivers fought near the banks of the river, with fists at first, but with knives at last. They were separated without serious injury to either. . . .

June 2.—Twenty wagons, including mine—all for Oregon—separated from the California wagons, and proceeded on in advance. . . .

June 3.—We set off at 7 o'clock, and fears being entertained that the California company was making an effort to come up to us, and pass, we drove rapidly during the day, over a prairie which was generally level, and in some places muddy. We traveled twenty miles.

June 7.—We saw the Pawnee face for the first time. As the sun was about to set behind the hills, twenty-three warriors, mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows, appeared upon the top of a distant eminence, between us and the declining sun. After reconnoitering our position for a few minutes headed by their chief they came sweeping down the slope at a quick charge. There was something in their appearance not exactly warlike, but as having rather the insolent bearing of confident robbers, whose eyes brighten with the sight of the spoil they already regarded as wrested from the hands of weak and defenseless emigrants. We armed ourselves with our rifles and went out to meet them. We should have remained behind our wagons, which would have served as a breast-work. However, the leader of our company did not think so; and we accordingly all went out. But the wary and observing chief of these roving robbers, seeing that we were likely to give them a reception very different from the one he looked for, instantly altered his whole conduct and aspect. Seeing our determination and condition, though we were still inferior to his strength, he instantly changed from the firm and cruel expression of a plundering savage to the bland and pleasant aspect of a friend.

Alarmed
by Pawnee
Indians.

June 8.—We arrived at the Nebraska at 2 o'clock, P. M., and we then proceeded up it till about 5 o'clock, when we encamped at a place that had recently been occupied by an advance party. . . .

June 14.—All the company had, without much ceremony, been invited to attend a wedding, at the tent of Mr. Lord, at 9 o'clock that evening. . . . Wedding.

I can not say that I much approve of a woman marrying upon the road. It looks so much like making a sort of hop, skip, and jump into matrimony. . . .

June 16.—We saw this day a multitude of bison. They seemed almost to cover the country in some places. The dark rolling masses, even in the distance, made a low, dull, rumbling sound, like an approaching earthquake,—such was the rattling of their hoofs and horns. Hunters, trappers, voyageurs, or emigrants when they are in the bison country, relieve the monotony of the day's toil by the excitement of the chase. . . . Then, after the camp fires are lighted, there comes on the roasting of ribs and *boudins*, the *chef d'œuvre* of all who know how to appreciate good eating in the great prairie wilderness. Stale anecdotes are retailed—puns good, bad, or indifferent are perpetrated; all kinds of jokes and jests are cracked; or, it may be, veritable stories are related of life full of startling adventure and the most thrilling incident. . . . Buffalo hunt.

July 7.—The day was the warmest we had experienced, and the dust filled the lungs, nose, ears, and hair; and so covered the face, that it was sometimes difficult to recognize each other. . . . I have known the time when I would have given fifty dollars for a pair of goggles. We suffered from this almost insupportable flying sand or dust for weeks together. Suffering from dust.

July 8.—At this place the first open and very marked attempt was made to seize upon my property, and leave myself and wife in the wilderness, exposed to the tender mercies of the savages. David came to my wagon, with one Rice Dunbar, and coolly informed me that he intended to take from Outlawry.

me two ox-yokes and their chains. . . . He took up the second yoke, and loaded himself with it and the chain; and I took up a musket, which although not loaded, had a bayonet upon it, and immediately came down upon him with fixed bayonet . . . I then sprang into my wagon and got my six-shooter. I then marched him out and marched him before me to the first yoke and chain taken by him, which, with great docility, he took up and carried back to my wagon. . . .

Ascent to
South
Pass.

July 18.—The ascent to the top of the pass is so gradual that it is somewhat difficult at first to fix the culminating point. We had approached it from Rock Independence, over a gradually ascending plane, one hundred and twenty miles in length, and our road conducted us to the summit by an ascent so regular that we did not, upon arriving at it, realize at first the elevation to which we had attained. It is, therefore, in this peculiarity entirely unlike the winding ascent by which the traveler toils up the Alleghany. . . .

South
Pass.

This South Pass possesses great interest when we come to observe that in its immediate vicinity the Colorado, the Columbia, the Missouri, and the Nebraska have their sources.

Wrong
advice and
suffering
of com-
pany.

July 20.—We all resumed our journey; our California friends turning to the left and we continuing along the right hand road, . . . On the eighth of August they were directed by a group of men who claimed to be marking out a new route that by taking the road indicated the emigrants would be able to shorten the 850 miles still before them by 200 miles. This advice was acted upon. Instead of shortening the route, they were forced to travel some 600 miles further before reaching their destination. Their food was almost exhausted; wagons were abandoned because of the death of oxen and a part of the journey was performed on foot with extreme suffering, some of the company dying of starvation and exposure.

August 22.—The country over which we had passed was dreary beyond description. The earth was iron and the heavens brass. Everything was parched and arid; . . . The oxen hurried forward with a rapidity which will be consid-

ered great, if we remember that they had now been two days and one night without either water or grass. . . .

We made a large fire, at which Mrs. Thornton prepared tea; we having brought a little water with us from the river. This and a small allowance of crackers, only equal, however, to the amount to which we had confined ourselves for several weeks, she divided with our unhappy companions in peril and travel.

On the night of our encampment in the Siskia mountains, some of the emigrants had not an ounce of bread, and only a small quantity of very poor, unwholesome, and innutritious beef.

November 4.—We passed household and kitchen furniture, beds and bedding, books, carpets, cooking utensils, dead cattle, broken wagons, and wagons not broken, but, nevertheless abandoned. In short, the whole road presented the appearance of a defeated and retreating army, having passed over it, . . .

November 18.—On this day, just seven months from the time of entering then upon our journey, we entered the head of the Willamette Valley. This was an important point in our journey and I seemed to have thrown off from my shoulder, at the foot of the mountain, when I first entered the valley a load of care that had long oppressed me. . . .

Reach the
Willamette
valley.

79. DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

Reverend Walter Colton was a chaplain in the navy. His ship was ordered to California, and he was appointed provisional alcalde in Monterey by Commodore Stockton in 1846. During September of that year he held the first jury trial in California. Through his influence also the first school-house in California is said to have been built and the first newspaper started. His Diary gives an excellent account of the time.—(Reverend Walter Colton, *Three Years in California*, 245 *passim*. New York, 1850.)

Monday, June 12.—A straggler came in to-day from the American Fork, bringing a piece of yellow ore weighing an ounce. One brought a spyglass, another an iron ladle; some

Gold first
discov-
ered.

wanted to melt it, others to hammer it, and a few were satisfied with smelling it. All were full of tests; and many, who could not be gratified in making their experiments, declared it a humbug. . . . They could not conceive that such a treasure could have lain there so long undiscovered. The idea seemed to convict them of stupidity.

Tuesday, June 20.—My messenger sent to the mines, has returned with specimens of the gold; he dismounted in a sea of upturned faces. As he drew forth the yellow lumps from his pockets, and passed them around among the eager crowd, the doubts, which had lingered till now, fled. All admitted they were gold, except one old man, who still persisted they were some Yankee invention, got up to reconcile the people to the change of flag. The excitement produced was intense, and many were soon busy in their hasty preparations for a departure to the mines. The family who had kept house for me caught the moving infection. Husband and wife were both packing up; the blacksmith dropped his hammer, the carpenter his plane, the mason his trowel, the farmer his sickle, the baker his loaf, and the tapster his bottle. All were off for the mines, some on horses, some on carts, and some on crutches, and one went in a litter. Debtors ran of course. I have only a community of women left, and a gang of prisoners, with here and there a soldier, who will give his captain the slip at the first chance. I don't blame the fellow a whit; seven dollars a month, while others are making two or three hundred a day! that is too much for human nature to stand. . . .

Excite-
ment.

All types
flock to
the mines.

Saturday, July 15.—The gold fever has reached every servant in Monterey; none are to be trusted in their engagement beyond a week. General Mason, Lieutenant Lanman, and myself, form a mess; we have a house, and all the table furniture and culinary apparatus requisite; but our servants have run, one after another, till we are almost in despair; even Sambo, who we thought would stick by from laziness, if no other cause, ran last night; and this morning, for the fortieth time, we had to take to the kitchen, and cook our

own breakfast. A general of the United States Army, the commander of a man-of-war, and the Alcalde of Monterey, in a smoking kitchen, grinding coffee, toasting a herring, peeling onions! These gold mines are going to upset all the domestic arrangements of society.

Tuesday, July 18.—Another bag of gold from the mines, and another spasm in the community. My carpenters at work on the school-house, on seeing it, threw down their saws and planes, shouldered their picks, and are off for the Yuba. Three seamen ran from the *Warren*, forfeiting their four years' pay; and a whole platoon of soldiers from the fort left only their colors behind. . . .

Saturday, August 12.—My man Bob, who is of Irish extraction and who had been in the mines about two months, returned to Monterey four weeks since, bringing with him over two thousand dollars, as the proceeds of his labor. Bob, while in my employ, required me to pay him every Saturday night, in gold, which he put into a little leather bag and sewed into the lining of his coat, after taking out twelve and a half cents, his weekly allowance for tobacco. But now he took rooms and began to branch out; he had the best horses, the richest viands, and the choicest wines in the place. He never drank himself, but it filled him with delight to brim the sparkling goblets for others. Multitudes here are none the richer for the mines. . . .

Wealth
quickly
amassed.

Thursday, Aug. 17.—Let me introduce a man well known to me, who has worked on the Yuba river sixty-four days, and brought back as the result of his individual labor, five thousand three hundred and fifty-six dollars. Make a dot there, and let me introduce another townsman, who has worked on the North Fork fifty-seven days, and brought back four thousand five hundred and thirty-four dollars. Make a dot there, and let me introduce a boy fourteen years of age, who has worked on the Mokelumne fifty-four days, and brought back three thousand four hundred and sixty-seven dollars. Let me introduce a woman who has worked in the dry diggings forty-six days, and brought back two

thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars. Is not this enough to make a man throw down his ledger and shoulder a pick. . . .

Creditors
enabled to
pay debts.

Saturday, Sept. 16.—The gold mines are producing one good result; every creditor who has gone there is paying his debts. Claims not deemed worth a farthing are now cashed on presentation at nature's great bank. This has rendered the credit of every man here good for almost any amount. Orders for merchandise are honored which six months ago would have been thrown into the fire. There is none so poor, who has two stout arms and a pickaxe left, but he can empty any store in Monterey. All distinctions indicative of means have vanished; the only capital required is muscle and an honest purpose. I met a man to-day from the mines in patched buckskins, rough as a badger from his hole who had fifteen thousand dollars in yellow dust, swung at his back. Talk to him of brooches, gold-headed canes, and Carpenter's coats! Why he can unpack a lump of gold that would throw all Chestnut Street into spasms. And there is more where this came from. With these advantages, he bends the knee to no man, but strides along in his buckskins, a lord of earth by a higher prescriptive privilege than what emanates from the partiality of Kings. Clear out of the way with your crests, and crowns, and pedigree-trees, and let this democrat pass. . . .

Get-rich-
quick type
developed.

At the
mines.

Wednesday, Oct. 4.—Our camping-ground is in a broad ravine through which a rivulet wanders, and which is dotted with the frequent tents of gold-diggers. The sounds of the crowbar and pick, as they shake or shiver the rock, are echoed from a thousand cliffs; while the hum of human voices rolls off on the breeze to mingle with the barking of wolves, who regard with no friendly eyes this intrusion into their solitude. But little care the gold-diggers about the wolves, it is enough for them to know that this ravine contains gold; and it must be dug out, though an earthquake slumber beneath.

The provisions with which we left San Jose are gone and we have been obliged to supply ourselves here. We pay at

the rate of four hundred dollars a barrel for flour; four dollars a pound for poor brown sugar, and four dollars a pound for indifferent coffee. And as for meat, there is none to be got except jerked-beef, which is the flesh of the bullock cut into strings and hung up in the sun to dry, and which has about as much juice in it as a strip of bark dangling in the wind from a dead tree. Oh ye who lose your temper because your sirloin has rolled once too much on the spit, come to the mines of California and eat jerked-beef! . . .

Prices of
commodi-
ties
increased.

Friday, Oct. 6.—The most efficient gold-washer here is the cradle which resembles in shape that appendage of the nursery, from which it takes its name. It is nine or ten feet long, open at one end and closed at the other. At the end which is closed, a sheet-iron pan, four inches deep, and sixteen over, and perforated in the bottom with holes, is let in even with the sides of the cradle. The earth is thrown into the pan, water turned on it and the cradle, which is on an inclined plane, set in motion. The earth and water pass through the pan, and then down the cradle, while the gold, owing to its specific gravity, is caught by cleets fastened across the bottom. Very little escapes it; it generally lodges before it reaches the last cleet. It requires four or five men to supply the earth and water to work such a machine to advantage. The quantity of gold washed out must depend on the relative proportion of gold in the earth. The one worked in this ravine yields a hundred dollars a day; but this is considered a slender result. Most of the diggers use the bowl or pan; its lightness never embarrasses their roving habits; and it can be put in motion wherever they may find a stream or spring. It can be purchased now in the mines for five or six dollars; a few months since it cost an ounce—sixteen dollars for a wooden bowl! But I have seen twenty-four dollars paid for a box of seidlitz powders, and forty dollars for as many drops of laudanum.

Gold-
washing.

Wednesday, Oct. 18.—We are camped in the heart of the richest deposits which have been found, and where there are many hundred at work. I have taken some pains to ascer-

Prospect-
ing.

tain the average per man that is got out; it must be less than half an ounce per day. It might be more were there any stability among the diggers; but half their time is consumed in what they call prospecting; that is, looking up new deposits. An idle rumor, or mere surmise, will carry them off in this direction or that, when perhaps they gathered nothing for their weariness and toil. A locality where an ounce a day can be obtained by patient labor is constantly left for another, which rumor has enriched with more generous deposits. They who decry this instability in others, may hold out for a time, but yield at last to the same phrensied fickleness. I have never met with one who had the strength of purpose to resist these roving temptations. He will not swing a pick for an ounce a day, with the rumor of pounds ringing in his ears. . . .

Great
migration.

Wednesday, Nov. 8.—Some fifty thousand persons are drifting up and down these slopes of the great Sierra, of every hue, language, and clime, tumultuous and confused as a flock of wild geese taking wing at the crack of a gun. All are in quest of gold; and, with eyes dilated to the circle of the moon, rush this way and that, as some new discovery, or fictitious tale of success may suggest. . . .

Types of
men.

Such a mixed and motley crowd—such a restless, roving, rummaging ragged multitude, never before roared in the rookeries of man. As for mutual aid and sympathy—Samson's foxes had as much of it, turned with tail to, with fire-brands tied between. Each great camping-ground is denoted by the ruins of shovels and shanties, the bleaching bones of the dead, dishumed by the wolf, and the skeleton of the culprit, still swinging in the wind, from the limb of a tree, overshadowed by the raven.

Thursday, Nov. 9.—Our bocarro came in this morning, and startled us with the intelligence that last night, while he was on watch—sound asleep, of course—the wild Indians came and stole all our horses and mules. Rather an awkward predicament for us, in the California mountains, three hundred miles from home, and our horses and mules in the hands of wild Indians! . . .

Thursday, May 24.—These, and other insular spots, may be made perfect gardens; but take California as a whole, she is not the country which agriculturists would select. You can hardly travel through it in midsummer without loading your mule down with provender to keep him alive. The productive forces of such a state as New York, Ohio, or Pennsylvania, sweep immeasurably beyond the utmost capabilities of California. It is the golden coronet that gives this land her pre-eminence, and puts into her hand a magic wand, that will shake for ages the exchanges of the civilized world. . . .

California
not suited
for agri-
culture.

Wednesday, June 20.—The causes which exclude slavery from California lie within a nut-shell. All here are diggers, and free white diggers wont dig with slaves. They know they must dig themselves: they have come out here for that purpose, and they wont degrade their calling by associating it with slave-labor: self-preservation is the first law of nature. They have nothing to do with slavery in the abstract, or as it exists in other communities; not one in ten cares a button for its abolition, nor the Wilmot Proviso either: all they look at is their own position; they must themselves swing the pick, so they wont swing it by the side of negro slaves. That is their feeling, their determination, and the upshot of the whole business. An army of half a million, backed by the resources of the United States, could not shake their purpose. Of all men with whom I have ever met, the most firm, resolute, and indomitable, are the emigrants into California. They feel that they have got into a new world, where they have a right to shape and settle things in their own way. No mandate, unless it comes like a thunder-bolt straight out of heaven, is regarded. They may offer to come into the Union, but they consider it an act of condescension. They walk over hills treasured with the precious ores; they dwell by streams paved with gold. All these belong to them; they feel their presence and power, and partake of their grandeur. Think you that such men will consent to swing the pick by the side of slaves? Never! while the stream owns its source, or the mountain its base. . . .

No
slavery.

80. INFLUENCE OF GOLD-MINING ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAN FRANCISCO

(Selected from *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, by Edward G. Buffum, Lieutenant First Regiment New York Volunteers, January 1, 1850.)

Growth of
San Fran-
cisco.

Within the past six months, the growth of San Francisco has been enormous. During that time, at least a thousand houses have been erected, of all sizes and forms. The hills around the town are now covered with buildings, and every spot of ground near the center is occupied. When it is taken into consideration, that lumber during this time has never been lower than two hundred and fifty and often as high as four hundred dollars per thousand, and carpenters' wages have been at from twelve to twenty dollars a day, it must be conceded on all hands, that the Californians are at least an enterprising people. During this time the price of real estate has risen in proportion with the growth of the town, property being now fifty per cent. higher than it was six months since. A lot on Portsmouth Square, which was purchased some three years ago for fifteen dollars, and sold last May for six thousand, was purchased a few days since for forty thousand dollars! The mere ground-rent of a little piece of land of sufficient size to erect a house upon, in any of the public streets, varies from one hundred to five hundred dollars a month. Rents of houses are, of course, in proportion to the price of real estate. The "Parker House," a hotel upon the Square, is leased for two hundred thousand dollars per annum, and under-leased in small portions, at a profit of fifty thousand more. In the "El Dorado," a large building next to the Parker House, a single room on the lower floor is rented for gambling purposes, for one hundred and eighty dollars a day. Most of the large rooms in the hotels are rented to gamblers, each table where a game is played paying thirty dollars a day. A man who erects a house in San Francisco usually intends that the rent should cover

Prices in
San Fran-
cisco.

all expenses of the building in three or four months, and in this he generally succeeds. Mechanics command enormous wages. Carpenters are now getting from twelve to twenty dollars a day, and tin-smiths, brick-layers, paper-hangers, and others employed in the construction of buildings, the same; while common day-labourers command eight dollars a day for their services. Board varies from sixteen to forty dollars per week, and washing costs eight dollars per dozen.

81. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF NEGRO SLAVERY

(Matthew Estes, *A Defence of Negro Slavery as It Exists in the United States*, 95 *passim*. Montgomery, 1846.)

Numerous important advantages result from the institution of slavery in this country, to which I will now respectfully invite the attention of the reader.

Slaves
compared
with op-
eratives.

I. The Slave.—The advantages to the slave are very great.—It is almost needless to contrast the contented, happy state of our blacks, with the discontented, unhappy state of the operatives in other countries. Speeches of members of Parliament in England, reports of committees of the House, reports of commissioners of the poor present us with a horrid picture of society in England. In many parts of the realm nearly one-half of the population are on the pauper list. In some places, the tax on land to support the poor is so heavy, that farms are voluntarily abandoned by their owners, on account of their inability to pay the tax.

2. Our negroes have religious advantages altogether superior to the laboring population of any country in Europe, and equal to the common class of operative in our Northern States. . . . The change of the three millions of Africans in this country from the darkness of African idolatry to the light of Christianity, is the most wonderful achievement of modern times—far transcending, in my humble conception, the great reformation in the sixteenth century. . . . I could prove from the census of 1840, that the free negroes at the

Slaves
and crime.

North are guilty of more crimes in proportion to numbers, than any similar number of individuals in the United States. Our slaves, in fact, are not guilty of one-tenth of the crimes which are committed by the free negroes at the North. I think it is probable that it could be made to appear, that the few free negroes in the free States, are guilty of more crimes than our whole black population.

Advances
of slaves.

3. The institution of slavery has been beneficial to the negro in an intellectual point of view. . . . In a little more than two centuries, our negroes have advanced from the lowest state of savagism, to a state of comparative civilization. No similar instance can be found in history—nor, had the slaves been free, would they have made even a start towards their present condition.

Physical
condition
of slaves.

4. Physical benefits of Slavery.—The world cannot produce a more vigorous, healthy race of men than our negroes—a race freer from all constitutional or hereditary taints of every kind.

The
master.

II. The Master.—The advantages of slavery to the white race at the South are—1st. Increase of Intelligence.—In point of general intelligence, especially in everything relating to politics, we must be permitted to maintain our decided superiority over our Northern brethren. Not only have the Southern people a superiority in point of political intelligence, but they have a very great superiority in the capacity of public speaking.

2nd. Slavery cultivates in the South a spirit of lofty and generous patriotism.

The very existence among us of an inferior population, whose business it is to perform most of the hard drudgery which is essential to the well-being of man, creates a higher tone of character, and as a consequence, a much higher degree of principle and action. The South has ever taken the lead in all those measures which have reflected most honor upon the nation.

III. The Country. The reader will please call to mind a fact already mentioned, viz: that the constitution of the

negro peculiarly fits him for a hot climate; that in such a climate he is in his proper element, whilst the white man, on the contrary, is adapted to a more northern climate, and cannot bear extensive exposure at the South, without great risk of injury to his constitution. It must be admitted as a fact, then, that without negro labor, the larger and more fertile portion of the South would be left uncultivated. I take it for granted that the negroes must be in a state of slavery; for if it were otherwise, free black labor could never be commanded to the extent necessary to cultivate the soil as at present. . . .

1st. Slave labor improves the health of the country. New Orleans, Charleston, and other Southern towns and cities, are built upon marshes, which have been filled up by slave labor. Our Southern climate being unfriendly to the constitution of the white man, he could never be induced voluntarily to undertake the removal of such sources of disease. The negro, on the contrary, can perform such labor without the slightest injury to his constitution.

Slave
labor a
necessity
to the
South.

2nd. The cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar of the South, all the products of slave labor, constitute the basis of much of the wealth of this country, North and South, and also of Europe. Destroy the production of cotton at the South, and you will almost ruin Europe and America; for all other portions of the world, it has been ascertained, could not supply the demand for this article. Since the acquisition of Texas, the South enjoys a monopoly of the cotton lands of the world. . . . The world, then, is indebted to the slave labor of the South, for a supply of this very important article. . . . More than one-half of the manufacturing establishments of this country and of England are engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods. Thus it appears, that in different ways, the cotton raised at the South by our slaves, gives employment to a larger number of individuals—contributes more to the comfort of mankind generally, than any other single, nay, any other five articles of trade, commerce, or agriculture. . . . Our rice, tobacco, and sugar, are like-

wise extensively beneficial to the world. . . . Our rice is sent to many parts of the world where it is extensively used as a cheap and wholesome article of diet. The destruction of this single branch of agriculture would bring almost incalculable evils upon the world; for it is not only useful as a common article of diet, but is almost indispensable in sickness, as every medical man well knows. Tobacco is an article of extensive use, and employs in its production and manufacture, a great number of individuals. This article is the product of slave labor, and could not be raised to anything like the same extent without it.

Sugar is almost exclusively the product of slave labor, and cannot, it is ascertained, be profitably made by whites. Free black labor can never be commanded to any considerable extent; so we are bound to rely upon slave labor. . . . We may set it down as an established fact, then, that but for our slaves the South would be uncultivated; that the primitive forests would again cover our fields, and the world would be deprived of all the incalculable benefits that flow from our agriculture. . . . When this discussion first commenced years ago, scarcely a man could be found in the Union who had the boldness to advocate slavery as an abstract right. Slavery was defended simply upon the ground of expediency, and hence all parties agreed, that it should be abolished just as soon as it could be effected. So strong in fact, was the anti-slavery feeling at the South, that the State of Virginia, the largest slave State in the Union came within a few votes of abolishing it. . . . As the public mind has been enlightened, men have become more and more convinced of the indispensable necessity of slavery in the present state of the world. . . . Another fact in connection with negro slavery at the North is, that it could never be made profitable there. It was very early ascertained that the climate was not adapted to the constitution of the negro, —hence one of the causes of the great mortality among the blacks at the North. Nor is the North adapted to the growth of these products, in the cultivation of which slave labor is

Anti-slavery sentiment at the South.

The North and slave labor.

most profitable. From this it appears that our Northern friends are entitled to no particular credit for abolishing slavery; they almost invariably sold their negroes, before the law could take effect which they had passed abolishing Slavery. . . .

Our Slave population at this time numbers about three millions of souls, estimated to be worth one thousand millions of dollars. This is a vast amount of property, which no five millions of people in the world will voluntarily give up for the sake of conscience. But as large as this amount is, it is only one item: the depreciation in value of our land, and other property, as the result of abolition, would equal the value of the negroes—that is, one thousand millions of dollars. In a word, the abolition of Slavery at the South, would impoverish every Slave State in the Union, with probably one or two exceptions; and the result would not be much different in the non-slaveholding States. The South furnishes the raw material to the North, for most of their manufactures, and likewise their only customers, England, France, in fact, the whole world, would feel the shock of abolition. . . .

Effects of
abolition
on the
South.

But let us suppose all difficulties overcome, and Slavery abolished throughout the South. . . .

One of the most obvious of these consequences would be, an increase of distance between the two races. Nature has marked broad lines of distinction between them, which will ever, in this country at least, keep them widely separated, and it must be acknowledged that this is a wise and salutary provision of nature, to keep the two races distinct and separate. . . . At the North, bitter and deep-rooted prejudices exist against the colored race: whilst there is a legal equality, there is the most striking practical inequality in all the departments of life. . . . At the South, the black race stands much nearer the white, than at the North. The white man knows that the negro is not, and never can be his equal, nor even desires to be. There is not, then, between the two races, that spirit of jealousy and rivalry that

Abolition
and the
negroes.

exists at the North. An acknowledged inferior is always treated with more respect and kindness in his subordinate, dependent position, than when he aspires to an equality. In the former relation, a kindly paternal feeling is engendered, which operates as a protection to the inferior; when, on the contrary, the inferior aspires to an equality, this kindly paternal feeling gives way to a feeling of repulsion, hate and jealousy. . . .

Should Slavery be abolished among us, this repulsive feeling will be engendered to an alarming extent, that will endanger, at least temporarily, the peace and good order of society. . . . The blacks at the North are too few in numbers to resist; they have in consequence, with but few exceptions, submitted quietly to all the indignities which have been heaped upon them. It would be far otherwise at the South, where the two races are nearly equal in numbers: hence maltreatment of the black race would be met with resistance, and a state of turmoil and strife, the consequences of which could not be foreseen, would invariably ensue. Riots, murders, mobs, pillage and general discontent and alarm would be the order of the day. A strong military force, kept up at enormous expense, would be necessary to preserve the public peace. . . .

Emancipa-
tion.

But other evils would follow emancipation, one of which is idleness, on the part of the blacks. . . .

Emancipation would not only lead to idleness on the part of the blacks, but would be the source of an incalculable amount of crime, disease, and misery of every kind. . . .

One thing is true, that whether he is ever prepared for freedom or not, any sudden emancipation cannot be otherwise than the source of unmixed evil. If slavery is ever to cease in the world, it must be by gradual *decay* in its operation almost imperceptible. . . .

82. A PICTURE OF IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT, 1831

(A True Picture of Emigration or Fourteen Years in The Interior of North America: Being a Full and Impartial Account of The Various Difficulties and Ultimate Success of an English Family Who Emigrated From Barwick-In-Elmet, near Leeds, In The Year 1837, pp. 1-62.)

Whatever may have been our success in America, I can attribute but little of it to myself; as I gave up the idea of ending my days in my own country with the utmost reluctance, and should never have become an emigrant, if obedience to my husband's wishes had left me any alternative. His motives, briefly stated, were these: In the year 1817 we took a small farm at a village in Yorkshire on a lease for fourteen years, and as corn was at that time selling well, the rent was fixed at too high a rate for us to obtain a comfortable livelihood. We did indeed by dint of great industry and strict economy, maintain our credit to the end of the lease; but the severe struggles we had to endure to meet our payments, the gradual diminution of our little property, and the entire absence of any prospects of being able to supply the wants of a large family had tended effectually to fix my husband's purpose of trying what could be done in the western world. We accordingly disposed of our little furniture, settled our pecuniary affairs, and ultimately began our long journey the last week in August, 1831.

Motives
of immi-
grants.

The reader will now enquire to what part of America we were going, or whether we had any plans as to the locality of our future home. This is an important consideration for every emigrant, though little attended to by many. We were not, however, like the poor Northumbrian, who on landing at New York a few years ago, required a person whom he met in the street, to direct him to the back settlements. My husband had travelled many miles to obtain a sight of private American letters, and after maturely considering all the intelligence he could collect, he determined

to go to Pike County, Illinois, to a person named Mr. B——, who had settled there a year or two before, and written to a brother of his in this country.

Set out for
America.

Without further preface, we are therefore to be considered on our way from the centre of Yorkshire to Liverpool, self, husband, and five children, the eldest a boy about nine years old, two others we were leaving behind, the one my eldest son engaged as an under teacher in a boarding-school, the other my eldest daughter serving also in a respectable family. To persons such as we were, who had never been forty miles from home, a journey by waggon and railway, where every hour presents the eye with something new, does not afford the best opportunity for reflection; we in consequence reached Liverpool before we fully felt the importance of the step we were taking. . . . But it was at Liverpool, when we had got our luggage to a boarding house and were waiting the departure of a vessel, that the throes of leaving England and all its endearments put our courage to a test the most severe. . . .

We were now passengers, in the steerage, on the vessel *Home*, bound for New Orleans. Our reasons for sailing to that port the most distant in North America, and not in a direct course to the Illinois, were on account of the ready transit we should make thence into the interior up the Mississippi; whereas, by landing at New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, we should have had to cross the Alleghany mountains, and travel a great distance by land, which would have been both troublesome on account of our luggage and very expensive.

As the wind was favourable we soon lost sight of the shore. Yet the eye with unwearied vigilance kept steadily fixed on the few eminences which remained visible, till they gradually waned into obscurity, and at last disappeared altogether. . . .

Supplies
on ship-
board.

Although we were entire strangers to a sea-faring life, we found we had been judicious in the choice of our provisions; we were well supplied with oatmeal, and flour, bacon, biscuits, tea and coffee etc., and as we had to cook for ourselves

at a fire which supplied all the steerage passengers, I found I should have something to do besides desecrating distant sails, and sighing a blessing to those bound for England.

At home I had always been fond of regularity with regard to the dinner hour, but I soon found if I continued my punctual habits on board I should often be liable to be laughed at for my pains, and lose my dinner to the bargain. Imagine to yourself, a small fire surrounded by half-a-dozen sturdy rustics, as busy boiling, roasting, and frying, as if their lives depended upon a single meal, and I will hazard an opinion you would be very hungry before you would venture among them. I do not say they would eat you; but either from the motion of the ship, or their uncouthness, your fortune would be better than mine if you got your meal prepared without being scalded. For the above reasons I soon forgot my punctuality, and through the remainder of the voyage our custom was to cook and eat when we could, for seasons are not unknown on ship-board when both must be dispensed with. . . . The sea was beginning to be unusually rough, its huge foaming waves came dashing against the sides of the vessel as if they had been let loose to destroy it. Sometimes we appeared about to leave the waters, and become inhabitants of aerial regions; then again one might suppose the ship was instantaneously descending into the caverns of the deep, overwhelmed by the mass of waters which on all sides encompassed it, and at times came sweeping over the deck with irresistible fury. A thousand times I thought the ship would be upset by the force of the tempest, which, roaring tremendously, carried all before it, and often laid our masts nearly level with the main; when suddenly regaining her upright position, she seemed to be contending with the blast, and by a movement I can scarcely account for, obtruding her briny sails against the forces of the storm. Terror and dismay were on every hand. . . . I shall never forget the horrors of that night, increased as they were by the heart-rending moanings of my despairing companions. . . . At length the morning began to dawn; we were all

Rough
weather.

anxiety to see the day, and ascertain our real situation. . . . Our ears had caused us to think the storm was abating; but this only increased our anxiety as we were afraid to hope, lest we should be deceived, when to our surprise the cabin door sprung open; it was the captain himself had opened it. His expressive words "the danger is past," were repeated again and again through all the cabin; and now the scene was changed. In the place of lamentations and the voice of despair, were immediately heard jocularly and the tumult of mirth. . . .

New
Orleans.

New Orleans being the provision market for the West Indies and some of the Southern States, its port is frequented not merely by foreign traders, but by thousands of small craft, often of the rudest construction on which the settlers in the interior bring down the various produce of their climate and industry. The town itself, from its low marshy situation, is very unhealthy; the yellow fever is an everlasting scourge to its inhabitants, annually carrying off great numbers. As a trading port, New Orleans is the most famous and the best situated of any in America; . . .

From New
Orleans to
St. Louis.

The time occupied in passing from New Orleans to St. Louis was about twelve days. We reached the latter place about noon, and found another steamer ready to convey us forward to the situation at which we purposed to remain. I had little opportunity of surveying the town, and therefore can say little respecting it; but was somewhat surprised to find that this noted city should be built principally of wood; . . .

Arrive at
desti-
nation.

We had already travelled nearly seven thousand miles. Our food had been principally dried provisions. For many long weeks we had been oppressed with anxious suspense; there is therefore no cause for wonder, that, jaded and worn out as we were, we felt anxious to be at our destined situation. Our enquiries of the sailors "how much further we had to go" almost exhausted their patience. Already we had been on the vessel twenty-four hours, when just at night-fall the packet stopped: a little boat was lowered into the

water, and we were invited to collect our luggage and descend into it as we were at Phillip's Ferry; we were utterly confounded: there was no appearance of a landing place, no luggage yard, nor even a building of any kind within sight; we, however, attended to our directions, and in a few minutes saw ourselves standing by the brink of the river, bordered by a dark wood, with no one near to notice us or tell us where we might procure accommodation or find harbour. This happened, as before intimated, as the evening shades were rapidly settling on the earth, and the stars through the clear blue atmosphere were beginning to twinkle. It was in the middle of November, and already very frosty. . . .

It was a fair specimen of a log-house, and therefore a description of it will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the American peasantry. There were two rooms, both on the ground floor, separated from each other with boards so badly joined, that crevices were in many places observable. . . . Beneath one of the rooms was a cellar, the floor and sides of which were mud and clay, as left when first dug out; the walls of the house consisting of layers of strong blocks of timber, roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners; the joints filled up with clay. The house had two doors, one of which is always closed in winter, and open in summer to cause a draught. The fire was on the floor at the end of the building, where a very grotesque chimney had been constructed of stones gathered out of the land, and walled together with clay and mud instead of cement. The house was covered with oak shingles; that is to say, thin riven boards nailed upon each other, so as just to overreach. The floors of the house were covered with the same material, except a large piece near the fire, which was paved with small stones, also gathered from the land. There was no window to the house I am describing, although many log-houses may now be found having glass windows. It is in reality true, that the want of light is felt very little in a log-house; in winter they are obliged to keep fine blazing fires, which,

Log house.

in addition to the light obtained from their low wide chimneys, enable the inmates to perform any business that is requisite. . . .

Adjoining one side were a few boards nailed together in the form of a table, and supported principally by the timber in the wall. This was dignified with the name sideboard. In the centre of the room stood another small table, covered with a piece of brown calico; this was the dining table. The chairs, four in number, were the most respectable furniture in the house, having bark of hickory platted for bottoms. Besides these there were two stools and a bench for common use,—a candlestick made from an ear of Indian corn, two or three trenchers and a few tin drinking vessels. One corner of the house was occupied with agricultural implements, consisting of large hoes, axes etc., for stubbing, called in America grubbing, flails and wooden forks, all exhibiting specimens of workmanship rather homely. Various herbs were suspended from the roof with a view of being medicinally serviceable, also two guns, one of them a rifle. There were also several hams and sides of bacon, smoked almost till they were black; two or three pieces of beef, etc. . . . The furniture in the other room consisted of two beds and a handloom, with which the family wove the greater part of their own clothes. . . .

Survey
and purchase of
land.

Before I proceed any further with my narrative, perhaps it will be of advantage to the reader to explain the method of purchasing land in the United States. The land in the various states has all been surveyed by direction of the government and divided into portions of eighty acres each. For the sale of the land thus surveyed and laid down on large plans, a land-office is established in various central situations, where all the allotments of a certain district are sold, and the purchasers' names registered. Any person, therefore, who wishes to purchase one more of these subsections, can see the plan, and select any that are unsold. They will even sell as small a quantity as forty acres; but as they do this merely to accommodate new settlers, no person already pos-

sessing eighty acres, can purchase a smaller quantity than that at a time. In some of the older states the government lands are all sold off. It must therefore be bought of private owners; but in Illinois and other new states there is plenty unsold. The government price everywhere is one hundred dollars for eighty acres. As there are myriads of acres yet in its native luxuriant wildness, any person may with impunity cultivate as much as he chooses without paying anything; and, as a further inducement, when a person begins thus to cultivate, no other person can legally purchase that land, till four years have expired from the time of his beginning to cultivate. By obtaining what is termed a pre-emption, the improvement arising from his own industry is as secure to him for four years as if he was the actual owner. Should, however, he fail to pay for the land before the term expires, an indifferent person may then purchase it; but this seldom happens. . . . An improved eighty acres was the first land we purchased. . . .

The nights in winter are at once inexpressibly cold, and poetically fine. The sky is almost invariably clear, and the stars shine with a brilliancy entirely unknown in the humid atmosphere of England. Cold as it was, often did I, during the first winter, stand at the door of our cabin, admiring their lustre and listening to the wolves, whose howlings, among the leafless woods at this season, are almost unceasing. Climate.

The first fruits of our industry were derived from our sugar orchard, the care of which devolved principally on me. We were in want of nearly all kinds of implements of husbandry, without the means of procuring them, except by running into debt, a practice which we felt reluctant to adopt. Our sugar trees therefore at this time afforded us a seasonable boon. The weather was favourable, and by hard working we made nearly three hundred weight, besides a barrel of molasses. We disposed of the greater part of it to a store-keeper named Mr. Varley, at the rate of seven or eight cents per pound. It must not be understood that we got Maple sugar.

money for it. Business is seldom transacted after that manner in Illinois. . . .

Is immi-
gration de-
sirable?

And now, kind reader, if thou hast any intention of being an emigrant, I cordially wish thee success; but before thou forsakest the endearments of thy present home, consider the situation in which we were placed with a helpless family dependent upon us. Thou hast seen us expend our little money with the utmost frugality: thou art acquainted with our possessions real and personal. It was now the middle of March, when Indian corn, the most useful produce of that country must be sown, or the season would be past. We had land and seed but no plough. What could we do? If we did not sow we could not reap; we should have nothing to feed our cattle with the ensuing winter. *Labor omnia vincit* was our motto. We set to work with our hoes; I, husband, and son, the latter under ten years of age; and day after day, for three successive weeks, did we toil with unwearied diligence till we had sown and covered in nearly four acres. . . .

Prairies.

In Illinois there are thousands of acres with not a tree upon it, but covered with a sort of strong wild grass, growing sometimes three or four feet high. These lands are termed prairies, and require only to be broken up with a prary plough, and they become at once fine arable land. As I before intimated, this kind of land, though the soonest cultivated, is not the most productive being, as the farmers term it, of a stronger quality than the other. . . . Let the reader imagine himself by the side of a rich meadow, or fine grass plain several miles in diameter, decked with myriads of flowers of a most gorgeous and varied description, and he will have before his mind a pretty correct representation of one of these prairies. Nothing can surpass in richness of colour, or beauty of formation many of the flowers, which are found in the most liberal profusion on these extensive and untrodden wilds. . . .

America is certainly and emphatically the country for the feathered tribe, whether numbers, variety, or beauty be the subject of special consideration. . . .

I ought in fairness to state what our success has been; I do this and no more; the lapse of a dozen years has wonderfully changed the appearance of things. We have seen a neighborhood rise around us; and in some situations, where at our first coming, everything appeared in its native wildness, small villages have now begun to rise. Means of comfort are now within our reach. We remember the time when we knew not where to apply for an article if at all out of daily use; but by the increase of population, we can now easily obtain anything we require, and were we disposed to give up labour, we could live very comfortably on the fruits of our former toil. . . .

CHAPTER XXII

SLAVERY EXTENSION AND SECTIONAL FEELING

83. DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS, 1850-60

(J. C. G. Kennedy, Report of the Superintendent of the Census, December 1, 1852, pp. 99 *passim*. Washington, 1853. Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860, pp. 103 *passim*. Washington, 1862.)

Prosperity
and roads.

In no other particular can the prosperity of a country be more strikingly manifested than by the perfection of its roads and other means of internal communication. The system of railroads, canals, turnpikes, post routes, river navigation, and telegraphs, possessed by the United States, presents an indication of its advancement in power and civilization more wonderful than any other feature of its progress. In truth, our country in this respect occupies the first place among the nations of the world.

Miles of
railroad,
1852.

From returns received at this office, in reply to special circulars, and other sources of information, it is ascertained that there were, at the commencement of the year 1852, 10,814 miles of railroads completed and in use; and that 10,898 miles were then in course of construction, with a prospect of being speedily brought into use. While the whole of these 10,898 miles will, beyond reasonable doubt, have been finished within five years, such is the activity with which projects for works of this character are brought forward and carried into effect, that it is not extravagant to assume that there will be completed within the limits of the United States before the year 1860 at least 35,000 miles of railroads.

The Quincy railroad, for the transportation of granite from the quarries at Quincy to Neponset river and the Mauch Chunk railroad, from the coal mines to the Lehigh river, in Pennsylvania, were the first attempts to introduce that mode of transportation in this country; and their construction and opening, in the years 1826 and 1827, are properly considered the commencement of the American railroad system. From this period until about the year 1848, the progress of the improvements thus begun was interrupted only by the financial revulsion which followed the events of 1836 and 1837. Up to 1848, it is stated that about 6,000 miles had been finished. Since that date an addition of 5,000 miles has been made to the completed roads, and, including the present year, new lines, comprising about 14,000 miles, have been undertaken, surveyed, and mostly placed under contract.

First
railroads.

The usefulness and comparative economy of railroads as channels of commerce and travel have become so evident, that they have in some measure superseded canals, and are likely to detract seriously from the importance of navigable rivers for like purposes. In a new country like ours, many items of expense, which go to swell the cost of railroads in England and on the Continent are avoided. Material is cheap; the right of way usually freely granted; and heavy land damages seldom interpose to retard the progress of an important work. It is difficult to arrive at a clear approximation to the average cost of railroad construction in the United States. Probably the first important work of this class undertaken and carried through in the Union was the cheapest, as it has proved one of the most profitable, ever built. This was the road from Charleston, in South Carolina, to Augusta, on the Savannah. It was finished and opened for traffic in 1833. The entire expense of building the road and equipping it with engines and cars for passengers and freight was, at the date of its completion, only \$6,700 per mile; and all expenditures for repairs and improvements, during the eighteen years that the road has been in opera-

Use of
railroads.

Cost of
railroads.

Charleston
to Au-
gusta.

tion, have raised the aggregate cost of the whole work to only \$1,336,615, or less than \$10,000 per mile. . . .

It will be seen at a glance that the leading idea in all these vast enterprises was to overcome the barrier presented by this chain of mountains, to a direct and unrestricted intercourse between the sea board and the West, and to supply the want of those natural channels of commerce, navigable rivers, extending into the section we desire to reach. The enormous aggregate of expense of the numerous works specified above, undertaken with this one object, and their importance as public improvements, may be estimated from the following brief notice of the New York and Erie railroad, which occupies the third place in our preceding enumeration. The longest continuous line of railroad in the world, and that in the construction of which the greatest natural obstacles have been overcome, is that which extends from the Hudson river, through the southern counties of New York, to Lake Erie. Its length is four hundred and sixty-nine miles, and it has branches of an additional length of sixty-eight miles. Nearly its whole course is through a region of mountains. The bridges by which it is carried over the Delaware and Susquehannah rivers, and other streams, and the viaducts upon which it crosses the valleys that intercept its route, are among the noblest monuments of power and skill to be found in our country. The most of these works are of heavy masonry; but one of them is a wooden bridge, one hundred and eighty-seven feet in height, with one arch, the span of which is two hundred and seventy-five feet. One of the viaducts is twelve hundred feet long, and one hundred and ten feet high.

The aggregate cost of this important work was \$23,580,000, and the expense of construction was \$42,333 per mile. The road was originally suggested in 1829; a company was organized in 1833; it was finished in May, 1851, and opened with great ceremony for travel and transportation in that month. The State advanced three millions of dollars towards the work, and afterwards released the company from

the obligation to pay the loan. It will be seen that the execution of this great work was pursued through nineteen years, and was not accomplished without calling into requisition both the resources of the State and the means of her citizens. . . .

Since the first edition of this report was put to press, information has been received, tending to prove that 2,500 miles of railroad, in progress at the beginning of 1852, had been completed during the year, and that 3,652 miles of new road had been placed under contract, making the aggregates of 13,266 miles of railroad in operation, and 12,681 miles in progress, on the 1st of January, 1853. These facts display a rate of increase in the extension of the railroad system greater than the experience of former years had authorized us to anticipate. . . .

From the brief sketch of American railroads should not be excluded some mention of several projects which are not only closely connected with the interests of the United States, but possess something of national importance. The first of these, in point of vastness of design, is the enterprise of building a railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean. The routes proposed in this great work are almost as numerous as the persons who claim the merit of having first suggested and brought forward the scheme of thus completing the chain of railroad connection between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the Union. Although the importance of such a work to the prosperity of the nation cannot be doubted, there is reason to suppose that many years will elapse before the resources of the country will be found sufficient for its accomplishment. No scientific survey of any route west of the frontier of Missouri has been made, but it is not probable that any could be found that would bring the line of travel between the Mississippi and the ocean within the limit of 1,600 miles.

From the
Missis-
sippi to the
Pacific.

The natural obstacles to be overcome are the Rocky mountains and the Sierra Nevada, the deserts between the Missouri and the former chain, and those of the great basin, the flying

Obstacles.

sands, and the want of timber. Further explorations may lead to the discovery of means to overcome these difficulties. . . .

Railroad
rates.

The rates of fare on our railroads are lower than on those of any country of which we have returns, affording the means of comparison. In New England, the average rate per mile is slightly over two cents; from New York to Washington, it is three cents and a half per mile. From New York to Cincinnati, the railroad and steamboat fare together is less than two cents per mile. From New York to Albany, the price of passage is a fraction over one cent per mile, and the average rate upon all the New York railroads has been stated at two cents and one-fifth per mile. . . .

Increase
in miles,
1850 to
1860.

The decade which terminated in 1860 was particularly distinguished by the progress of railroads in the United States. At its commencement the total extent in operation was 8,588.79 miles, costing \$296,260,128; at its close 30,598.77 miles, costing \$1,134,452,909; the increase in mileage having been 22,004.08 miles, and in cost of construction \$838,192,781.

No trunk
lines.

While the increase in mileage was nearly 300 per cent., and the amount invested still greater, the consequences that have resulted from these works have been augmented in vastly greater ratio. Up to the commencement of the decade our railroads sustained only an unimportant relation to the internal commerce of the country. Nearly all the lines then in operation were local or isolated works, and neither in extent nor design had begun to be formed into that vast and connected system, which, like a web, now covers every portion of our wide domain, enabling each work to contribute to the traffic and value of all, and supplying means of locomotion and a market, almost at his own door, for nearly every citizen of the United States. . . .

Previous to 1850 by far the greater portion of railroads constructed were in the States bordering the Atlantic, and, as before remarked, were for the most part isolated lines, whose limited traffics were altogether local. Up to the date named, the internal commerce of the country was conducted

almost entirely through water lines, natural and artificial, and over ordinary highways. The period of the settlement of California marks really the commencement of the new era in the physical progress of the United States. The vast quantities of gold it produced imparted new life and activity to every portion of the Union, particularly the western States, the people of which, at the commencement of 1850, were thoroughly aroused as to the value and importance of railroads. Each presented great facilities for the construction of such works, which promised to be almost equally productive. Enterprises were undertaken and speedily executed which have literally converted them into a net-work of lines, and secured their advantages to almost every farmer and producer.

Discovery
of gold in
California.

The progress of these works in the aggregate, year by year, will be seen by the tabular statements at the close of the report. The only important line opened in the west, previous to 1850, was the one from Sandusky to Cincinnati, formed by the Mad River and Little Miami roads. But these pioneer works were rude, unsubstantial structures compared with the finished works of the present day, and were employed almost wholly in the transportation of passengers. Within the decade, in place of this one line, railroads have been constructed radiating from Lakes Erie and Michigan, striking the Mississippi at ten and the Ohio at eight different points, and serve as trunk lines between the two great hydrographic systems of the west. These trunk lines are cut every few miles by cross lines, which, in the States east of the Mississippi, are sufficiently numerous to meet every public and private want, and to afford every needful encouragement to the development of the resources of this country.

Sandusky
to Cin-
cinnatl.

Growth in
a decade.

The southern States have been behind the northern in their public enterprises, though, at the date of the census, they were prosecuting them with great energy and vigor. The progress inland of the great trunk lines of the south has been already noted. The opening of the Mobile and Ohio, and of the Mississippi Central, which will soon take

Southern
railroad
building.

place, will give completeness to the system of the southwestern States, and leave little to be done to make it all that is wanted for that section of the country.

Western
railroads.

West of the Mississippi less has been done, for the reason that the settlements there are of a more recent date, and the people less able to provide the means for their construction than those of the older States. But even upon our western frontier extensive systems have been undertaken and very considerable progress made in their execution.

A more interesting subject than the progress of our public works, would be their results, as shown in the increased commerce and wealth of the country. . . .

84. THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES, 1858

The public career of Abraham Lincoln really began in the summer of 1858, when he met Stephen A. Douglas in joint debate in each of seven congressional districts of Illinois. The towns selected for these contests were Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton.

Lincoln had been selected by the Republican party of Illinois as their candidate for United States Senator, for it had been shown that he was the one man in the State who was able to cope with Douglas in political discussion. The Republican Convention endorsed Lincoln on June 16, 1858, and on the evening of that day he accepted the candidacy in a speech which is recognized as one of the most important of his whole career. The opening sentences were as follows:

“If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do now, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. ‘A house divided against itself can not stand.’ I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south." . . .

In closing, he said: "Our cause must be entrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, who *do care* for the result. Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange discordant, and even hostile elements we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then, to falter now—now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered and belligerent? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we *shall not fail*. Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay it; but sooner or later the victory is sure to come." . . .

A writer for the New York *Evening Post*, who was present at the Ottawa debate and who listened for the first time to the two champions, gives his impression of them in the following manner:

Two men presenting wider contrasts could hardly be found as the representatives of the two great parties. Everybody knows Douglas, a short, thick-set burly man, with large round head, heavy hair, dark complexion, and fierce bulldog look. Strong in his own real power, and skilled by a thousand conflicts in all the strategy of a hand to hand or a general fight; . . . "Little Dug" ascended the platform and looked out impudently and carelessly on the immense throng which surged and struggled before him. A native of Ver-

mont, reared on a soil where no slaves stood, came to Illinois as a teacher, and from one post to another had risen to his present eminence. Forgetful of the ancestral hatred of slavery to which he was the heir, he had come to be a holder of slaves and to owe much of his fame to his continued subservience to southern influence. . . .

In every relation of life, socially and to the State, Mr. Lincoln has been always the pure and honest man. In physique he is the opposite to Douglas. Built on the Kentucky type, he is very tall, slender and angular, awkward even, in gait and attitude. His face is sharp, large-featured and unprepossessing. His eyes are deep set, under heavy brows; his forehead is high and retreating, and his hair is dark and heavy. In repose, I must confess that "Long Abe's" appearance is *not* comely. But stir him up and the fire of his genius plays on every feature. His eye glows and sparkles, every lineament now so ill-formed, grows brilliant and expressive, and you have before you a man of rare power and of strong magnetic influence. He takes the people every time, and there is no getting away from his sturdy good sense, his unaffected sincerity, and the unceasing play of his good humor, which accompanies his close logic and smooths the way to conviction—Aug. 27, 1858.

THE FREEPORT DEBATE, AUGUST 27, 1858

(E. E. Sparks, Illinois Historical Collections, III, 148 *passim*.)

Terms of
debate.

Ladies and Gentlemen: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first speech to the scope of what was brought within the range of his half hour speech at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope of that half-hour's speech something of his own opening speech.

In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had *refused* to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; [Applause.] and after that I have done so, I shall propound mine to him [Applause.] . . .

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly, that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think of them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive-Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive-Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive-Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are

Lincoln
unpledged.

Fugitive-
Slave law.

not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

Admission
of slave
States.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; [Applause] but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the Territorial existence of any one Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union. [Applause.] . . .

Slavery
in District
of Co-
lumbia.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. [Cries of "Good! Good!"] I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *Second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation." [Loud Applause.]

Abolition
of slave-
trade

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have

not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject, but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. . . .

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. [Laughter.] I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:—

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, before they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,—some ninety-three thousand,—will you vote to admit them? [Applause.]

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in a lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? [Renewed applause.]

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decree that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action? [Loud applause.]

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question? [Cries of "Good, Good!"] . . .

MR. DOUGLAS'S REPLY

Ladies and Gentlemen: The silence with which you have listened to Mr. Lincoln during his hour is creditable to this vast audience, composed of men of various political parties. Nothing is more honorable to any large mass of people assembled for the purpose of a fair discussion than that kind and respectful attention that is yielded, not only to your political friends, but to those who are opposed to you in politics. . . .

People of
a Territory
exclude
slavery?

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. [Enthusiastic applause.] Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855 and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. ["Right, right!"] Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision

of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point. . . .

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ["A schoolboy knows better."] Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the *Washington Union*, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The *Union* had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the Free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. [Cheers.] . . .

Supreme Court and exclusion of slavery from a State.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the Slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

Acquire additional territory?

[Deacon Bross here spoke "sotto voce,"—the reporter understanding him to say "Now we've got him."]

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory, unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you [addressing Mr. Lincoln] opposed to the acquisition of any

more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee-fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the Slavery question. ["Good."] I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory as they prefer. . . .

LINCOLN'S SPEECH AT JONESBORO

The second interrogatory that I propounded to him was this:—

“Question 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?”

To this Judge Douglas answered that they can lawfully exclude slavery from the Territory prior to the formation of the Constitution. He goes on to tell us how it can be done. As I understand him, he holds that it can be done by the Territorial Legislature refusing to make any enactments for the protection of slavery in the Territory, and especially by adopting unfriendly legislation to it. For the sake of clearness, I state it again: That they can exclude slavery from the Territory, 1st, by withholding what he assumes to be an indispensable to it in the way of legislation; and, 2nd, by unfriendly legislation. If I rightly understand him, I wish to ask your attention for a while to his position.

In the first place the Supreme Court of the United States decided that any Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; that they have reached this proposition as a conclusion from their former proposi-

tion, that the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and from that other Constitutional provision, that no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law. Hence they reach the conclusion* that as the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and prohibits any person from being deprived of property without due process of law to pass an Act of Congress by which a man who owned a slave on one side of a line would be deprived of him if he took him on the other side, is depriving him of that property without due process of law. That I understand to be the decision of the Supreme Court. I understand also that Judge Douglas adheres most firmly to that decision; and the difficulty is, how is it possible for any power to exclude slavery from the Territory, unless in violation of that decision? That is the difficulty.

In the Senate of the United States in 1856, Judge Trumbull, in a speech substantially, if not directly, put the same interrogatory to Judge Douglas, as to whether the people of a Territory had the lawful power to exclude slavery prior to the formation of a constitution. Judge Douglas then answered at considerable length and his answer will be found in the "Congressional Globe," under date of June 9th, 1856. The Judge said that whether the people could exclude slavery prior to the formation of a constitution or not *was a question to be decided by the Supreme Court*. He put that proposition, as will be seen by the "Congressional Globe," in variety of forms, all running to the same thing in substance,—that it was a question for the Supreme Court. I maintain that when he says, after the Supreme Court has decided the question, that the people may yet exclude slavery by any means whatever, he does virtually say that it is not a question for the Supreme Court. [Applause.]

He shifts his ground. I appeal to you whether he did not say it was a question for the Supreme Court? Has not the Supreme Court decided that question? When he now says the people *may* exclude slavery, does he not make it a ques-

tion for the people? Does he not virtually shift his ground, and say that it is *not* a question for the court, but for the people? This is a very simple proposition,—a very plain and naked one. It seems to me that there is no difficulty in deciding it. In a variety of ways he said that it was a question for the Supreme Court. He did not stop then to tell us that whatever the Supreme Court decides, the people can by withholding necessary “police regulations” keep slavery out. He did not make any such answer. I submit to you now whether the new state of the case has not induced the Judge to sheer away from his original ground. [Applause.] Would not this be the impression of every fair minded man? . . .

85. THE NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The second Republican National Convention met in Chicago, May 16, 1860. On the third ballot Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President. Isaac H. Bromley, who wrote the following account of the convention, was at the time a correspondent for a New York newspaper.—(Scribner's Magazine, XIV, 646-656.)

Meeting
of the con-
vention.

The second Republican National Convention met at Chicago on May 16, 1860. Not since the foundation of the Government had the political outlook been so threatening to the stability of the Union and the continuance of peace. Congress had been five months in session, two of which had been entirely occupied with the speakership contest, and the rest in wordy wrangling that frequently came perilously near to blows on the floor of the House in open session. . . .

With the Democratic Party hopelessly disrupted, and the whole trend of affairs in the Free States toward a union of all the elements of opposition to that party, it was not strange that the delegates came together at Chicago in high spirits and with a confident feeling that the nominee of the Convention would be the next President of the United States. No one looked farther than that. The fixed purpose of the

party was to bring Kansas into the Union as a Free State, and set definite bounds to the institution of slavery. . . .

The Convention met in an enormous building with a capacity capable of holding ten or twelve thousand people; a barn-like structure, made of rough timber, decorated so completely with flags, banners, bunting, etc., that when filled it seemed a gorgeous pavilion aflame with color and all aflutter with pennants and streamers. It was the first of its kind, and itself something of a wonder. . . .

Place of meeting.

It was indeed a grand spectacle. When Governor E. D. Morgan, of New York, as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, called the Convention to order, he faced the largest audience that had ever assembled within doors in the country. . . .

The first session.

. . . By a piece of good luck the acoustic properties of the wigwam were excellent, so that the speakers could be heard without difficulty in every part of it. . . .

The New York delegation was for Seward to a man. And for him absolutely, unreservedly—first, last, and all the time, without any second choice. To them Mr. Seward seemed the central figure of the whole movement, its prophet, priest and oracle. Not even Henry Clay before him, or Grant or Blaine after had such a following of blind idolaters. They had worked themselves up into the belief that the new political party would collapse if it did not take the highest ground of principle, and choose as its leader the foremost anti-slavery statesman in the country; the man who had described the relations between freedom and slavery as an “irrepressible conflict” between two opposing and enduring forces, and whom they fondly called “Old Irrepressible.” Without him it would be the play without Hamlet. They were vociferous, aggressive, boisterous, and they had brought with them from New York outsiders and workers and brass bands who filled the streets with processions and the nights with music to such an extent that the Seward enthusiasm seemed tumultuous and all-absorbing. . . .

William H. Seward a favorite.

Since the Democratic breaking up, the conviction had

Lack of
harmony
in the
conven-
tion.

deepened that this party had the Presidency within reach. The nearness of it made everybody uncommonly fearful of losing it. The consequence was that this body was disposed to be conservative to the point of timidity. All shades of opinion on the slavery question, from the out-and-out Abolitionists like Giddings, to men like Eli Thayer who accepted the popular sovereignty theory, had to be harmonized. There was danger in touching at all the tariff question, and yet it could not be ignored entirely; and most difficult of all was to bring together the representatives of the American or Know Nothing party and the great mass of foreign-born voters, chiefly Germans, who constituted the strength and the dependence of the party in the Western States. To steer through such dangers and besetments called for skilful pilotage. . . .

Outside
the con-
vention
hall.

The resolutions went through by acclamation about six o'clock in the afternoon, and amid whirlwinds of noise that exceeded all previous demonstrations, the Convention adjourned till next day. There was not much sleep for anybody that night. The streets were alive all night with processions and brass bands, while the delegation head-quarters at the hotels had oratory on tap and were in constant eruption. The real business was going on, however, without noise or demonstration. It was the commerce between Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania that night that made Mr. Lincoln President, and put Caleb B. Smith and Simon Cameron in his Cabinet. . . . The deal made by David Davis and N. B. Judd with Pennsylvania and Ohio was not suspected by the Seward men, who were in high feather over the admission of delegates from Virginia and Texas; and at the opening of the third day's session more confident than ever. Impressed by their confidence Greeley had given up the fight, and wired the Tribune that Seward's nomination was certain. And that indeed was the belief of everybody except a few persons who had been up all night at the Tremont House,* *without* any brass bands.

* Located at the corner of Dearborn and Lake Streets. Now occupied by Departments of Northwestern University.

The candidates were put in nomination, and at the mention of each name applause more or less loud and prolonged broke forth. The great demonstrations were at the names of Seward and Lincoln. When either of these was mentioned the audience seemed to grow wild. One might have supposed that the choice between them was to be governed by volume of sound. In these lung contests the Lincoln men had the advantage of his being the local favorite, and having, consequently a more numerous claue. But the Seward men were good howlers, and the match was not far from equal. The formal placing of candidates in nomination being over, the roll-call began with Maine, proceeding in geographical instead of alphabetical order. The vote of the New England States was anxiously watched. The Seward men counted on some solid delegations and a majority of the total vote. Maine started off with 10 for Seward and 6 for Lincoln: New Hampshire gave Seward but 1 and Lincoln 7; Vermont gave her 10 votes to Collamer. With each vote the countenances of the Seward men fell and the hopes of the Lincoln men rose. The votes of the three States had been simply turned in by the several chairmen in an undemonstrative matter-of-fact way. Massachusetts was called. John A. Andrew was chairman of the delegation. In his view Massachusetts was something more than a numeral in a mathematical process, or a platoon in a procession. He understood dramatic effect too well to stand up and simply hand in a few figures. He did not address the Secretary. He stood on his chair, said, "Mr. President," and waited till Ashmun said, "The gentleman from Massachusetts." The Old Bay State having got wheeling distance and distinct audience, he said, "Mr. President, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts casts 21 votes for William H. Seward and 4 votes for Abraham Lincoln." The cheers that followed were more for the dignified presence and impressive manner of the man than for either of the candidates, and all joined in it. The vote was slightly disappointing to the Seward men, who hoped for the solid delegation. Then came Connecticut

Nomina-
tions.

and Rhode Island, and the reporters' pencils swiftly made the New England footing, which showed that out of 81 votes Seward had but 32, while Lincoln had 19, and all others 30.

The Secretary called New York. Only one delegation had cast a solid vote, and Vermont's vote for Collamer was known to be merely complimentary. Everybody knew what New York's vote would be; but Evarts had no less appreciation of dramatic effect than John A. Andrew. He too stood on his chair, and looking beyond the Secretary said: "Mr. President." "The gentleman from New York," said Ashmun. There was stillness, but not absolute silence. "Mr. President," said Evarts, slowly, "I wait until the Convention is in order." A few strokes of the gavel and there was a hush undisturbed by a whisper. Every eye was fixed on Evarts, every head bent toward him. Again Ashmun: "The gentleman from New York has the floor." Then Evarts, with slow, deliberate utterance that gave each word the weight of a great argument: "Mr. President, the State of New York casts 70 votes for William Henry Seward." Straight went the audience off its feet and for several minutes there was wild applause.

Then New Jersey gave a solid vote for William L. Dayton; Pennsylvania, hers, nearly solid for Cameron, and presently Virginia astonished the Seward men by giving 14 votes for Lincoln and only 8 for Seward. Ohio gave Chase three-quarters of her vote, and then Indiana gave the Seward men another surprise by a solid vote for Lincoln. Missouri was solid for Bates. The first glimmer of comfort the Seward men had had for some time came when Michigan gave him her 12 votes. Their cheering was drowned when the next State was called, and Illinois added 22 to the Lincoln column. As the list tailed off, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Kansas voted solidly for Seward, and the hopes of his friends revived. The count showed 465 votes, with Seward and Lincoln leading; the former having 173½, the latter 102, and the rest divided between ten candidates. . . .

Everybody watched with intensest interest the changes

on the second ballot. Vermont led off with the transfer of her solid vote to Lincoln, to the great disappointment of the New Yorkers, and when the six New England States had been called, Lincoln was found to be leading with 36 to Seward's 33. Presently Pennsylvania carried out the arrangement made the night before, and put 48 votes to the Lincoln column. A gain of a vote or two here and there helped swell the total, so that in the summing up Lincoln was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ votes behind Seward who lacked 49 of a majority.

The
second
ballot.

While the third ballot was in progress there was a great deal of hurrying back and forth, swift consultations, pulling and hauling, and hubbub generally. But the demonstrations were not so noisy, loud, and prolonged as in the earlier stages of the proceedings. The excitement was too intense, the nervous strain too severe, to relieve itself in noise. The break in New England continued, Lincoln having now 42 to Seward's 31. There was no change of blocks of votes on this call, but a gradual crumbling away of support from the scattering candidates and a drawing toward Lincoln. Seward was ahead once, when New York with 70 blotted out the Lincoln lead of 11 in New England, but the next moment Pennsylvania plumped 52 for Lincoln and presently the Western States pushed him far to the front, a sure winner. . . .

The third
ballot.

The last call—the District of Columbia—had hardly been answered, when from half-a-dozen seats came the report, "Lincoln 231½; he lacks a vote and a half." Ohio had still a reserve of 15 votes that had been given to Chase, and Missouri 18 that had gone for Bates. In an instant there was a scramble to get in on the winner. The stuttering Cartter was ahead. As soon as he could be heard, he changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln. Everybody was on his feet and everybody apparently shrieking a change of votes, none of which, except Ohio's, was ever recorded. Everybody? no, not everybody. In the New York seats everybody sat dumb. Michigan made no stir, and only a part of the

Nomina-
tion of
Lincoln.

Massachusetts delegation contributed to the din—oases of silence in a Sahara of sound.

Scene in
the con-
vention.

I thought I had heard noise and seen wild excitement before, but this was the grand climacteric. On the platform near me Henry S. Lane was executing a war-dance with some other dignified delegate as partner; the Indiana men generally were smashing hats and hugging each other; the Illinois men did everything except stand on their heads; hands were flying wildly in the air, everybody's mouth was open, and bedlam seemed loose. The din of it was terrific. Seen from the stage it seemed to be twenty thousand mouths in full blast, as if that startling figure of La Guerre on the Arc de Triomphe had been kindled into life and repeated twenty thousandfold poured out upon this arena. I have seen conventions carried off their feet before and since, but never anything like that. I was so overcome with the spectacle that the contagion of it took no hold. I could not shout, I simply caught my breath and stared at it. It seemed as if it never would stop. Over the desk of the reading clerk was a skylight, and men stationed there had reported to the packed masses in the street from the edge of the roof the results of the balloting. On the roof there was also a loaded cannon ready to convey the news when the nomination was reached. The four Ohio changes had hardly been recorded when it belched its fire. The cry, "Lincoln is nominated," went over the roof into the streets and the streets went wild. So, when the inside tempest lulled an instant, the roar from the outside came in like an echo and the storm was renewed; the waves of noise rolled back and forth till from sheer weariness the shouters sank into their seats.

There was something almost painful in the stillness which fell, when the chairman at this point recalled order with a stroke of the gavel, and looking to the New York delegation, where all eyes followed him, said: "The gentleman from New York." In a few well chosen words listened to with profoundest attention, Mr. Evarts, on behalf of the New York delegation, accepted the result and moved that the

nomination be made unanimous. It was seconded by John A. Andrew, Carl Schurz, and Austin Blair, of Michigan, in speeches that contained more sadness than exultation, and was passed, to be followed by another tumultuous outbreak.

So Abraham Lincoln was nominated, and Christendom, without knowing it, had entered behind the curtain of a new epoch and into the dawning of a new day.

CHAPTER XXIII

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

86. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS AND SECESSION, 1860

As the time for the Presidential election of 1860 approached, the declaration became wide-spread throughout the Southern States that secession would follow in case Abraham Lincoln was elected. Alexander H. Stephens was opposed to such action, at the time, for the cause specified, and set forth his views in a speech, given extemporaneously, before the Georgia Legislature, November 14, 1860. It was published in the leading newspapers of the country, and was interpreted at the North to mean that he would stand by the Union. When the State Convention of Georgia passed the ordinance of secession, January 19, 1861, Stephens regarded it as expressing the will of the people which it was his duty to obey.—(Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States*, II, 279 *passim*. Philadelphia, 1868.)

Reasons
for ad-
dress.

Fellow Citizens:—I appear before you to-night, at the request of members of the Legislature and others, to speak of matters of the deepest interest that can possibly concern us all of an earthly character. There is nothing—no question or subject connected with this life—that concerns a free people so intimately as that of the government under which they live. We are now, indeed, surrounded by evils. Never, since I entered upon the public stage, has the country been so environed with difficulties and dangers that threatened the public peace, and the very existence of society, as now. I do not now appear before you at my own instance. It is not to gratify a desire of my own that I am here. Had I consulted my own ease and pleasure I should not be before you; but believing that it is the duty of every good citizen to give his counsels and views whenever

the country is in danger, as to the best policy to be pursued, I am here. For these reasons, and these only, do I bespeak a calm, patient and attentive hearing.

My object is not to stir up strife, but to allay it; not to appeal to your passions, but to your reason. . . .

Let us, therefore, reason together. It is not my purpose to say aught to wound the feelings of any individual who may be present; and if, in the ardency with which I shall express my opinions, I shall say anything which may be deemed too strong, let it be set down to the zeal with which I advocate my own convictions. There is with me no intention to irritate or offend.

The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you frankly, candidly and earnestly, that I do not think that they ought. In my judgment the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by and aid still in maintaining the Constitution and the country. To make a point of resistance to the government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that too in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves—withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads.

The South
and
Lincoln's
election.

Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution, if such is their fell purpose. Let the responsibility be upon them. I shall speak presently more of their acts; but let not the South—let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us.

But it is said Mr. Lincoln's policy and principles are against the Constitution, and that if he carries them out it will be destructive of our rights. Let us not anticipate a threatened evil. If he violates the Constitution, then will come our time to act. Do not let us break it because, forsooth, he may. If he does, that is the time for us to act. I think it would be injudicious and unwise to do this sooner. I do not anticipate that Mr. Lincoln will do anything, to jeopard our safety or security, whatever may be his spirit to do it; for he is bound by the Constitutional checks which are thrown around him, which at this time render him powerless to do any great mischief. This shows the wisdom of our system. The President of the United States is no Emperor, no Dictator—he is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing, unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in a majority against him. . . .

In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him. . . .

. . . Why, then, I say, should we disrupt the ties of this Union when his hands are tied, when he can do nothing against us? . . .

My honorable friend who addressed you last night (Mr. Toombs), and to whom I listened with the profoundest attention, asks if we would submit to Black Republican rule? I say to you and to him, as a Georgian, I never would submit to any Black Republican aggression upon our constitutional rights.

I will never consent myself, as much as I admire this Union for the glories of the past, or the blessings of the present—as much as it has done for the people of all these States—as much as it has done for civilization—as much as the hopes of this world hang upon it, I would never submit to aggression upon my rights to maintain it longer; and if they cannot be maintained in the Union, standing on the Georgia platform, where I have stood from the time of its adoption, I would be in favor of disrupting every tie which binds the States together. . . .

My countrymen, I am not of those who believe this Union has been a curse up to this time. . . . Nor will I undertake to say that this government of our fathers is perfect. There is nothing perfect in this world of a human origin—nothing connected with human nature, from man himself to any of his works. . . .

National government not perfect.

And it is so in our government.

But that this government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good governments than any other on the face of the earth is my settled conviction. Contrast it now with any on the face of the earth. . . .

The next evil which my friend complained of, was the tariff. Well, let us look at that for a moment. About the time I commenced noticing public matters, this question was agitating the country almost as fearfully as the slave question now is. In 1832, when I was in college, South Carolina was ready to nullify or secede from the Union on this account. And what have we seen? The tariff no longer distracts the public counsels. Reason has triumphed! The present tariff was voted for by Massachusetts and South Carolina. The lion and the lamb lay down together—every man in the Senate and House from Massachusetts and South Carolina, I think, voted for it, as did my honorable friend himself. And if it be true, to use the figure of speech of my honorable friend, that every man in the North that works in iron, and brass and wood, has his muscle strengthened by the protection of the government, that stimulant was given by his

The tariff.

vote, and I believe every other Southern man. So we ought not to complain of that.

Mr. Toombs. That tariff lessened the duties.

Mr. Stephens. Yes, and Massachusetts, with unanimity voted with the South to lessen them, and they were made just as low as Southern men asked them to be, and that is the rate they are now at. If reason and argument, with experience, produced such changes in the sentiments of Massachusetts from 1832 to 1857, on the subject of the tariff, may not like changes be effected there by the same means—reason and argument, and appeals to patriotism on the present vexed question? And who can say that by 1875 or 1890 Massachusetts may not vote with South Carolina and Georgia upon all those questions that now distract the country and threaten its peace and existence. . . .

. . . Have we not at the South, as well as the North, grown great, prosperous, and happy under its operations? Has any part of the world ever shown such rapid progress in the development of wealth, and all the material resources of national power and greatness, as the Southern States have under the General Government, notwithstanding all its defects?

Mr. Toombs. In spite of it!

Mr. Stephens. My honorable friend says we have, in spite of the General Government; and without it I suppose he thinks we might have done as well, or better than we have done. This grand result is in spite of the Government! That may be, and it may not be; but the great fact that we have grown great and powerful under the Government, as it exists—there is no conjecture or speculation about that; it stands out bold, high, and prominent, like your stone mountain, to which the gentleman alluded. . . .

It may be that we are all that we are in "spite of the General Government," but it may be that without it we should have been far different from what we are now. It is true, there is no equal part of the earth with natural resources superior, perhaps, to ours. That portion of this country

Southern
pros-
perity.

known as the Southern States, stretching from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, is fully equal to the picture drawn by the honorable and eloquent Senator, last night, in all natural capacities. But how many ages, centuries, passed before these capacities were developed to reach this advanced stage of civilization? . . .

It was only under our Institutions as they are, that they were developed. Their development is the result of the enterprise of our people under operations of the Government and Institutions under which we have lived. Even our people, without these, never would have done it. The organization of society has much to do with the development of the natural resources of any country or any land. . . . Look at Greece! There is the same fertile soil, the same blue sky, the same inlets and harbors, the same Aegean, the same Olympus—there is the same land where Homer sang, where Pericles spoke—it is, in nature, the same old Greece; but it is “living Greece no more!”

Descendants of the same people inhabit the country; yet what is the reason of this mighty difference? In the midst of present degradation we see the glorious fragments of ancient works of art—temples with ornaments and inscriptions that excite wonder and admiration—the remains of a once high order of civilization, which have outlived the language they spoke—upon them all, Ichabod is written—their glory has departed. Why is this so? I answer, their institutions have been destroyed. . . . The same may be said of Italy. Where is Rome, once the mistress of the world? . . . Why have not the people of that Heaven-favored clime the spirit that animated their fathers? . . . It is the destruction of her institutions that has caused it; and my countrymen,—if we shall, in an evil hour, rashly pull down and destroy those Institutions, which the patriotic hand of our Fathers labored so long and so hard to build up, and which have done so much for us, and for the world; who can venture the prediction that similar results will not ensue? Let us avoid them if we can. I trust the spirit is amongst us that will

enable us to do it. Let us not rashly try the experiment of change, of pulling down and destroying; for, as in Greece and Italy, and the South American Republics, and in every other place, whenever our liberty is once lost, it may never be restored to us again. . . .

I know that there are friends—whose patriotism I do not intend to question—who think this Union a curse—and that we would be better off without it. I do not so think, if we can bring about a correction of those evils which threaten—and I am not without hope that this may yet be done. This appeal to go out, with all the provisions for good that accompany it, I look upon it as a great and I fear a fatal temptation.

When I look around and see our prosperity in everything, agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as moral advancement, and our colleges, I think, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to—let us not too readily yield to this temptation—do so. Our first parents, the great progenitors of the human race, were not without a like temptation when in the garden of Eden. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered—that their eyes would be opened— . . .

Loss in
leaving
the Union.

I look upon this country with our Institutions as the Eden of the world, the Paradise of the Universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we yield to passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous and happy—instead of becoming Gods, we will become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting one another's throats. This is my apprehension. Let us, therefore, whatever we do, meet these difficulties, great as they are, like wise and sensible men, and consider them in the light of all the consequences which may attend our action.

Let us see first, clearly, where the path of duty leads, and then we may not fear to tread therein. . . .

Now upon another point, and that the most difficult, and deserving your most serious consideration, I will speak. That is, the course which this State should pursue toward those Northern States which, by their legislative acts, have attempted to nullify the Fugitive Slave Law. . . .

Northern States, on entering into the Federal compact, pledged themselves to surrender such fugitives; and it is in disregard of their obligations that they have passed laws which even tend to hinder or obstruct the fulfilment of that obligation. They have violated their plighted faith. What ought we to do in view of this? That is the question. What is to be done? By the law of nations, you would have a right to demand the carrying out of this article of agreement, and I do not see that it should be otherwise with respect to the States of this Union; and in case it be not done, we would by these principles, have the right to commit acts of reprisal on these faithless Governments, and seize upon their property, or that of their citizens, wherever found. The States of this Union stand upon the same footing with foreign nations in this respect. . . .

The
Fugitive-
Slave law.

Let us, therefore, not act hastily in this matter. Let your Committee on the State of the Republic make out a bill of grievances; let it be sent by the Governor to those faithless States; and if reason and argument shall be tried in vain—if all shall fail to induce them to return to their Constitutional obligations, I would be for retaliatory measures, such as the Governor has suggested to you. This mode of resistance in the Union is in our power.

Now, then, my recommendation to you would be this: in view of all these questions of difficulty, let a convention of the people of Georgia be called, to which they may be all referred. Let the sovereignty of the people speak. . . . I have no hesitancy in saying that the Legislature is not the proper body to sever our Federal relations, if that necessity should arise. . . .

The people to decide.

You must refer this question to the people, and you must wait to hear from the men at the cross-roads and even the groceries; for the people in this country, whether at the cross-roads or the groceries, whether in cottages or palaces, are all equal, and they are the sovereigns of this country. Sovereignty is not in the Legislature. We the People are Sovereign! I am one of them, and have a right to be heard; and so has every other citizen of the State. . . . Our Constitutions State and Federal came from the people. They made both and they alone can rightfully unmake either. . . .

Should Georgia determine to go out of the Union, I speak for one, though my views might not agree with them, whatever the result may be, I shall bow to the will of her people. Their cause is my cause, and their destiny is my destiny; and I trust this will be the ultimate course of all. The greatest curse that can befall a free people, is civil war. . . .

Before making reprisals, we should exhaust every means of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the controversy. . . .

At least, let these offending and derelict States know what your grievances are, and if they refuse, as I said, to give us our rights under the Constitution, I should be willing, as a last resort, to sever the ties of our Union with them.

My own opinion is, that if this course be pursued, and they are informed of the consequences of refusal, these States will recede, will repeal their nullifying acts; but if they should not; then let the consequences be with them, and the responsibility of the consequences rest upon them. . . .

Conference with other States.

I am for exhausting all that patriotism demands, before taking the last step. I would invite, therefore, South Carolina to a conference. I would ask the same of all the other Southern States, so that if the evil has got beyond our control, which God in his mercy grant may not be the case, we may not be divided among ourselves; but if possible, secure the united co-operation of all the Southern States, and then, in the face of the civilized world, we may justify our action, and, with the wrong all on the other side, we can appeal to the God of Battles, if it comes to that, to aid us in our cause.

But do nothing, in which any portion of our people, may charge you with rash or hasty action. It is certainly a matter of great importance, to tear this Government asunder. You were not sent here for that purpose. I would wish the whole South to be united, if this is to be done; and I believe if we pursue the policy which I have indicated, this can be effected. . . .

My position, then, in conclusion is for the maintenance of the honor, the rights, the equality, the security, and the glory of my native State in the Union, if possible; but if these cannot be maintained in the Union, then I am for their maintenance, at all hazards, out of it. Next to the honor and glory of Georgia, the land of my birth, I hold the honor and glory of our common country. . . .

87. SCENES AT THE OPENING OF THE WAR

The following letters by a correspondent to the *London Times* give a good picture of the North and of the South at the beginning of the war.

New York, April 19, 1861.

The great civil war that everybody has regarded as an improbability is now fairly inaugurated,—blood has been shed, sectional animosities have been aroused,—Virginia has seceded, or will do so soon in the van of the Border Slave States,—there is every probability that Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina will follow,—Maryland is trembling poised between her allegiance to the stars and stripes and her sympathy for slavery, and everything now promises a war between the consolidated Slave States and the American Government—a war for the extension of African Slavery and the annihilation of Constitutional Government except as subservient to that institution. . . .

Within the week Fort Sumter has been evacuated, its garrison transferred to New York, its very existence forgotten in the rapidity of the march of events. A little contest in

Opening
of war.

Fort
Sumter.

the harbor of Charleston has grown into a great civil war. The effect of the news in New York of the attack upon the fort is as unexpected as it is overwhelming. I confess that I was not prepared for it; for, knowing the demoralization of the party leaders,—political demoralization, I mean, not personal or moral—I did not suppose that the popular heart was beating so strong for the national flag and the national Government. So it is, however; and the result has taken everybody by surprise.

Lincoln
calls for
troops.

The proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, announcing a state of war, and calling upon the remaining States to contribute their quotas towards the defence of the flag and the recovery of the forts, has aroused the national pride and touched the national heart in every Northern State, while with an equal rapidity, it has carried the Southern Border States towards the rebels. From the moment the blow was struck all party differences vanished here and so strong was the public indignation against the rebels that it became dangerous for a man to avow Southern sympathies. The feeling had begun to show itself before my last letter. But on the following day the manifestation was much more enthusiastic. Then the first troops from the East arrived on their way to Washington, and it was also known that the 7th regiment, the pride and the pet of New York, whose ranks are made up of the sons of her first merchants, leading lawyers, and best statesmen, was to be the first called from this town to the defence of the capital. It was a bright sunshiny April day, with one of those clear crystal American atmospheres that every one who has ever been in America will remember. The town had broken out into an eruption of the star-spangled banner. It floated from every hotel, from every bank, from every insurance office. It was draped in festoons across the streets, the shipping in the harbor was alive with the gaiety of its colors, it was carried in miniature on the headstall or saddle of every omnibus horse and drayhorse in the crowded Broadway, and its colors were seen on the rosettes of the private carriages. Without seeing it, it is,

Intense
excite-
ment in
New York.

I fear, impossible to conceive how the loyalty of this people to their flag had suddenly and spontaneously gushed out. . . .

To-day we have had a scene of excitement and enthusiasm surpassing anything I have ever seen even in excitable New York. Even the wonderful demonstration in honor of the Prince of Wales was nothing to it. The 7th regiment was to leave for Washington at 6. It was announced that they would leave their armory at about 4 and march to the ferry through Broadway.

About noon we received despatches from Baltimore that a fight was going on there—that the Massachusetts troops that had left here the day before had been attacked in their passage through that town, and were fighting their way to the Washington railway station. You can conceive how such news struck into the hearts of fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and friends, about taking leave of such near relatives, to meet, perhaps, the same or a more desperate resistance. You can conceive, too, how the public heart would beat. I had taken a room at the Metropolitan Hotel from which to see the troops, that being the highest point on Broadway and commanding the streets for the whole two miles through which they were to march. Long before they appeared every omnibus and carriage was turned out, and the handsome street itself blocked full with a living, surging mass of men, unlike the demonstration for the Prince of Wales, when a large part of the crowd were women. To-day the mothers and sisters were in the houses along the line of the march, every window of which was filled, and even the housetops covered. Near me there was a lady, a widow, whose only son was in the ranks as a private. Though the tear could not be repressed, she cheerfully sent him out with a "God bless you!" Few houses that had not one or more near relative or friend like this. Before the regiment appeared I thought it would be impossible for them to force their way through the crowd; but as they came up it made way for them, with vociferous, enthusiastic cheers, crowding, however, and pressing into the ranks as the men came along to a lively quick

step, marching with an elastic spring that would remind you more of Paris than of London. As they came opposite the hotel where I was a scene ensued that beggars all description. Major Anderson* stepped upon the balcony over the magnificent marble shop of Messrs. Ball and Black, and uncovered as the men marched by. Such enthusiasm I have never seen. As each platoon came up it broke ranks for a moment, waving hats and even muskets, cheering the soldier who has become for the moment the representative of loyalty and fidelity; then, closing up, passed on. . . .

Nor is this only a momentary excitement of a fickle populace, that finds no response in the educated classes. I have but a few minutes left before the mail closes—enough, however, to call attention to the meeting of the merchants of New York held yesterday, while the people were bidding their sons farewell on their way to the war. The meeting was enthusiastic and unanimous in the determination to support the Government at all hazards. It embraced prominently every shade of political opinion—men who have hitherto sympathized with the South. When they offer money, when they urge upon the Government warlike measures, when they call for blockades, you may depend upon it that they are in earnest. They felt that this contest has been forced upon them by the rebels and they will meet the issue like men. . . .

New York, April 24.

I now resume the history of this remarkable northern revolution in popular sentiment—or, rather let me do it justice by calling it this outbreak of repressed feeling. It is quite impossible in any language within my power to convey an adequate idea of this great national uprising in defence of the country and its institutions, to rescue the land from anarchy at home and aggression from abroad, to prevent its disintegration and decay. Macaulay has tried to paint the national arming of England when the signal was given

* Former commander at Fort Sumter.

All classes
of people
enthusi-
astic for
war.

that the Armada was approaching; but, spirited as it is, the words are cold and dead compared with the fervour which animates all classes in the North to maintain the integrity of the country. And do not entertain the idea that this spirit may be checked by reverses or chilled by want of immediate success; believe me, it is not so. If the reverses come at Washington which there is reason to fear may come, the spirit that is now aroused will be only quickened and deepened by them; and that nothing can resist this spirit in the end, that it must be as triumphant as it is just, that Maryland, Virginia and whatever other State opposes itself to the Government will be inevitably overcome and order restored, no one here doubts.

I left off with the evening of Friday the 20th, when we had just received the news of the attack upon the Massachusetts troops by the Baltimore mob. It is only three days since then, and yet we seem to have moved generations. New York, which but a week ago was a quiet commercial town has become a great camp, where everybody is full of military ardour and enthusiasm. Business is entirely suspended, past differences are healed,—all are now ready for the defence of the Union. . . .

Business
suspended.

The West, too, is moving actively, but with what results we are not yet able to say, all attention here being engrossed upon the threatened attack upon the capital, and the exciting scenes in the city of New York. . . . Early in the morning a Massachusetts regiment arrived, and was hurried on towards Philadelphia amid the cheers of the excited crowd. None seemed disposed to attend to any business except his country's. The ensigns that the day before waved from the flagstaffs of the principal buildings seemed in the night to have blossomed out into thousands of smaller star spangled banners, hanging from the windows and doors of almost every house and shop in the town. Nearly every man wore a Union badge of the red, white, and blue of the flag upon his breast. Most of the ladies as well wore cravats or badges of the same loyal colors. While the shops and the count-

ing rooms were deserted, the corners of the streets and the neighborhood of the newspaper offices were crowded with people, anxious for the latest news from the South, for there were rumors, which were confirmed later in the day, that the railway bridges between here and Baltimore were burned and communication with the capital cut off. . . .

Sunday morning opened as beautiful, soft, balmy an April day as the sun ever shone upon, with the marching of a Massachusetts regiment down the Fifth Avenue while the good citizens were on their way to church. . . . The scenes in the churches are also described as animated and touching. The ministers incited their congregation to vigour in the prosecution of a righteous war for the defence of their country and the perpetuation of its institutions. In some churches the pulpit was draped with the national flag, and in others the "Star-spangled Banner" was played upon the organ, the congregation rising and standing as it was done.

Attitude
of
churches.

New York, April 27.

Nor are the civilians, and especially the women, less busy. Under the direction of some of the leading surgeons of New York the medical and surgical department, which has been sadly neglected with the troops that have already left, and the hospital department, are being rapidly systematized. The organizations for local charity connected with the various churches have also taken up the matter vigorously, preparing clothes for the troops, and, what is equally important, bandages, lint, medicines, and other things connected with the hospital department. The ladies daily meet in the vestries of the several churches and give their whole time up to this patriotic work. . . . All feel that it is a war for national existence, and are ready to sacrifice everything rather than have the stars and stripes blotted out.

Work of
the
women.

Charleston, S. C. April 21.

At the present moment Charleston is like a place in the neighbourhood of a camp where military and volunteer tai-

Scenes in
Charleston.

lors are at work trying experiments in uniforms, and sending in their animated models for inspection.

There is an endless variety—often of ugliness—in dress and equipment and nomenclature among these companies. The head-dress is generally, however, a smart cap like the French kepi; the tunic is of different cuts, colors, facings, and materials,—green with gray and yellow, gray with orange and black and white, blue with white and yellow facings, roan, brown, burnt sienna, and olive,—jackets, frocks, tunics, blouses, cloth, linen, tweed, flannel. The officers are generally in blue frocks and brass buttons, with red sashes, the rank being indicated by gold lace parallelograms on the shoulder straps, which are like those in use in the Russian army. The arms of the men seem tolerably well kept and in good order. Many, however, still shoulder “White Bess”—the old smooth-bore musket with unbrowned barrel.

Montgomery, May 8.

I am on difficult ground, the land is on fire, the earth is shaking with the tramp of armed men, and the very air is hot with passion.

Scenes at
the
capital.

It is impossible to know what is going on in the North, and it is almost the same to learn what is doing in the South out of eyeshot. The telegraphic communications are now broken, so are the mail routes. Events hurry on with tremendous activity, and even the lightning lags behind them. The people of the South at last are aware that the “Yankees” are preparing to support the Government of the United States, and that the secession can only be maintained by victory in the field. . . . The fact is there are even in the compact and united South men of moderate and men of extreme views, and the general tone of the whole is regulated by the preponderance of one or other at the moment. . . . But the Confederates are preparing for the conflict, and when they have organized their forces, they will make, I am satisfied, a very resolute advance all along the line. They are at present strong enough, they suppose, in their domestic resources,

and in the difficulties presented to the advance of a hostile force by the nature of the country, to bid defiance to invasion, or, at all events, to inflict a very severe chastisement on the invaders, and their excited manner of speech so acts upon their minds that they begin to think they can defy, not merely the United States, but the world. Thus it is that they declare they never can be conquered, that they will die to a man, woman and child first, and that if 50,000 or any number of thousands of Black Republicans get 100 miles into Virginia, not one man of them shall ever get out alive. Behind all this talk, however, there is immense energy, great resolution, and fixed principles of action. . . . They firmly believe the war will not last a year, and that 1862 will behold a victorious, compact slave-holding confederate Power of 15 States under a Strong Government, prepared to hold its own against the world, or that portion of it which may attack it. I now but repeat the sentiments and expectations of those around me. They believe in the irresistible power of cotton, in the natural alliance between manufacturing England and France and the cotton-producing Slave States, in the force of their simple tariff, and in the interests which arise out of a system of free trade, which, however, by a rigorous legislation they will interdict to their neighbours in the Free States, and only open for the benefit of their foreign customers. Commercially, and politically and militarily they have made up their minds, and never was there such confidence exhibited by any people in the future as they have, or pretend to have, in their destiny. . . .

The Southerners are firmly convinced that they have "kept the North going" by the prices they have paid for the protected articles of their manufacture, and they hold out to Sheffield, to Manchester, to Leeds, to Wolverhampton, to Paris, to Lyons, to Bordeaux, to all the centres of English manufacturing life, as of French taste and luxury, the tempting baits of new and eager and hungry markets. If their facts and statistics are accurate there can be no doubt of the justice of their deductions on many points; but they can

Southern
determina-
tion.

Hopes of
South-
erners.

scarcely be correct in assuming that they will bring the United States to destruction by cutting off from Lowell the 600,000 bales of cotton which she usually consumes. One great fact, however, is unquestionable—the Government has in its hands the souls, the wealth, and the hearts of the people. They will give anything—money, labour, life itself,—to carry out their theories. “Sir,” said an ex-governor of this State to me to-day, “Sooner than submit to the North we will all become subject to Great Britain again.” The same gentleman is one of many who have given to the Government a large portion of their cotton crop every year as a free-will offering. In this instance his gift is one of 500 bales of cotton, or 5,000£ per annum, and the papers teem with accounts of similar “patriotism” and devotion. The ladies are making sand bags, cartridges, and uniforms, and, if possible, they are more fierce than the men. The time for mediation is past, if it ever were at hand or present at all, and it is scarcely possible now to prevent the processes of phlebotomization which are supposed to secure peace and repose. . . . The Rev. Gentleman prayed that the Almighty might be pleased to inflict on the arms of the United States such a defeat that it might be the example of signal punishment forever,—that the gallant young soldiers who were fighting for their country might not suffer from exposure to the weather or from the bullets of their enemies; and that the base mercenaries who were fighting on the other side might come to sure and swift destruction. . . .

Sacrifice
at the
South.

War in-
evitable.

88. THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Frank Aretas Haskell, the writer of the following description of the battle of Gettysburg, was graduated from Dartmouth College, with distinguished honors, in the class of 1854. That year he came to Madison, Wisconsin, where he began the practice of law. In June, 1861, he entered the Union army as first lieutenant in company “I” of the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry of the Iron Brigade.* He was adjutant of his regiment until April 14, 1862,

* The Iron Brigade was originally composed of the Second, Sixth, and Seventh Wisconsin and the Nineteenth Indiana. The Twenty-fourth

when he was made aide-de-camp to General John Gibbon, who then took command of the Iron Brigade. While serving with this brigade, Lieutenant Haskell took part in the most important battles of the Army of the Potomac: viz., Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. In his report on the battle of Gettysburg, General Gibbon wrote: "There was a young man on my staff who had been in every battle with me and who did more than any other one man to repulse Pickett's assault at Gettysburg and he did the part of a general there."

On February 9, 1864, he was promoted to the office of colonel of the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin. June 3 he led his command in the charge at Cold Harbor. General Hancock, writing of this event, said: "At Cold Harbor the Colonel of the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin, as gallant a soldier as ever lived, fell dead on the field."

The account of the battle of Gettysburg, from which the extracts are taken, was sent by Lieutenant Haskell to his brother shortly after that battle and was not intended for publication.—(Frank Aretas Haskell, *The Battle of Gettysburg*. Wisconsin History Commission: reprints, No. 1 (1908), 66 *passim*.)

Meeting
of General
Meade
and his
officers.

After evening came on and, from reports received, all was known to be going satisfactorily upon the right, General Meade summoned his corps commanders to his headquarters for consultation.* A consultation is held upon matters of vast moment to the country, and that poor little farmhouse is honored with more distinguished guests than it ever had before, or than it will ever have again, probably.

Do you expect to see a degree of ceremony, and severe military aspect, characterize this meeting, in accordance with strict military rules, and commensurate with the moment of the matters of their deliberation? Name it "Major General Meade, Commander of the Army of the Potomac, with his Corps Generals, holding a Council of War, upon the field of Gettysburg," and it would sound pretty well,—and that was what it was; and you might make a picture of it and hang it up by the side of "Napoleon and his Marshals," and "Washington and his Generals," maybe, at some future time. But

Michigan was added to it in 1862. The heaviest loss of life by brigades in the Union army fell to this brigade.

* July 2.

for the artist to draw his picture from, I will tell how this council appeared. Meade, Sedgwick, Slocum, Howard, Hancock, Sykes, Newton, Pleasanton—commander of the cavalry—and Gibbon, were the Generals present. Meade is a tall spare man, with full beard, which with his hair, originally brown, is quite thickly sprinkled with gray—has a Romanish face, very large nose, and a white, large forehead, prominent and wide over the eyes, which are full and large, and quick in their movements, and he wears spectacles. His fibres are all of the long and sinewy kind. His habitual personal appearance is quite careless, and it would be rather difficult to make him look well dressed. . . . I suppose Howard is about thirty-five and Meade about forty-five years of age; the rest are between these ages, but not many under forty. As they come to the council now, there is the appearance of fatigue about them, which is not customary, but is only due to the hard labors of the past few days. They all wear clothes of dark blue, some have top boots and some not, and except the two-starred straps upon the shoulders of all save Gibbon, who has but one star, there was scarcely a piece of regulation uniform about them all. They wore their swords of various patterns, but no sashes, the army hat, but with the crown pinched into all sorts of shapes and the rim slouched down and shorn of all its ornaments but the gilt band—except Sykes who wore a blue cap, and Pleasanton with his straw hat with broad black band. Then the mean little room where they met,—its only furniture consisted of a large, wide bed in one corner, a small pine table in the center, upon which was a wooden pail of water, with a tin cup for drinking, and a candle, stuck to the table by putting the end in tallow melted down from the wick, and five or six straight-backed rush-bottomed chairs. The Generals came in—some sat, some kept walking or standing, two lounged upon the bed, some were constantly smoking cigars. And thus disposed, they deliberated whether the army should fall back from its present position to one in the rear which it was said was stronger, should attack the

enemy on the morrow, wherever he could be found, or should stand there upon the horse-shoe crest, still on the defensive, and await the further movements of the enemy.

The latter proposition was unanimously agreed to. . . . After some two hours the council dissolved, and the officers went their several ways. . . .

July 3. What sound was that? * There was no mistaking it. The distinct sharp sound of one of the enemy's guns, square over to the front, caused us to open our eyes and turn them in that direction, when we saw directly above the crest the smoke of the bursting shell and heard its noise. In an instant, before a word was spoken, as if that were the signal gun for general work, loud, startling, booming, the report of gun after gun in rapid succession smote our ears and their shells plunged down and exploded all around us. We sprang to our feet. In briefest time the whole Rebel line to the West was pouring out its thunder and its iron upon our devoted crest. The wildest confusion for a few moments obtained sway among us. The shells came bursting all about. The servants ran terror-stricken for dear life and disappeared. The horses, hitched to the trees or held by the slack hands of orderlies, neighed out in fright and broke away and plunged riderless through the fields. The General at the first had snatched his sword, and started on foot for the front. . . . How the long streams of fire spout from the guns, how the rifled shells hiss, how the smoke deepens and rolls. But where is the infantry? Has it vanished in smoke? Is this a nightmare or a juggler's trick? All too real. The men of the infantry have seized their arms, and behind their works, behind every rock, in every ditch, wherever there is any shelter, they hug the ground, silent, quiet, unterrified, little harmed. The enemy's guns now in action are in position at their front of the woods along the second ridge that I have before mentioned and towards their right, behind a small crest in the open field, where we saw the flags this morning. Their line is some two miles long, concave

* One o'clock P. M.

on the side towards us, and their range is from one thousand to eighteen hundred yards. A hundred and twenty-five Rebel guns, we estimate, are now active, firing twenty-four pound, twenty, twelve and ten-pound projectiles, solid shot and shells, spherical, conical, spiral. The enemy's fire is chiefly concentrated upon the position of the Second Corps. From the Cemetery to Round Top, with over a hundred guns, and to all parts of the enemy's line, our batteries reply, of twenty and ten-pound Parrotts, ten-pound rifled ordnance, and twelve-pound Napoleons, using projectiles as various in shape and name as those of the enemy. . . . All was going on satisfactorily. We had nothing to do, therefore, but to be observers of the grand spectacle of battle. . . . Who can describe such a conflict as is raging around us? To say that it was like a summer storm, with the crash of thunder, the glare of lightning, the shrieking of the wind, and the clatter of hailstones would be weak. The thunder and lightning of these two hundred and fifty guns and their shells, whose smoke darkens the sky, are incessant, all pervading, in the air above our heads, on the ground at our feet, remote, near, deafening, ear-piercing, astounding; and these hailstones are massy iron, charged with exploding fire. And there is little of human interest in a storm; it is an absorbing element of this. You may see flame and smoke, and hurrying men, and human passion at a great conflagration; but they are all earthly and nothing more. These guns are great infuriate demons, not of the earth, whose mouths blaze with smoky tongues of living fire, and whose murky breath, sulphur-laden, rolls around them and along the ground, the smoke of Hades. These grimy men, rushing, shouting, their souls in frenzy, plying the dusky globes and the igniting spark, are in their league, and but their willing ministers. We thought that at the Second Bull Run, at the Antietam and at Fredericksburg on the 11th of December, we had heard heavy cannonading; they were but holiday salutes compared with this. Besides the great ceaseless roar of the guns, which was but the background of the others, a million

various minor sounds engaged the ear. The projectiles shriek long and sharp. They hiss, they scream, they growl, they sputter; all sounds of life and rage; and each has its different note, and all are discordant. Was ever such a chorus of sound before? We note the effect of the enemies' fire among the batteries and along the crest. We see the solid shot strike axle, or pole, or wheel, and the tough iron and heart of oak snap and fly like straws. The great oaks there by Woodruff's guns heave down their massy branches with a crash, as if the lightning smote them. The shells swoop down among the battery horses standing there apart. . . . And these shot and shells have no respect for men either. We see the poor fellows hobbling back from the crest, or unable to do so, pale and weak, lying on the ground with the mangled stump of an arm or leg, dripping their life-blood away; or with a cheek torn open, or a shoulder mashed. And many, alas! hear not the roar as they stretch upon the ground with upturned faces and open eyes, though a shell should burst at their very ears. We saw them but a moment since there among the flame, with brawny arms and muscles of iron wielding the rammer and pushing home the cannon's plethoric load. . . .

. . . Only a few yards off a shell exploded over an open limber box in Cushing's battery, and at the same instant, another shell over a neighboring box. In both the boxes the ammunition blew up with an explosion that shook the ground, throwing fire and splinters and shells far into the air and all around, and destroying several men. We watched the shells bursting in the air, as they came hissing in all directions. . . . We saw the missiles tear and plow the ground. All in the rear of the crest for a thousand yards, as well as among the batteries, was the field of their blind fury. . . . The percussion shells would strike, and thunder, and scatter the earth with their whistling fragments; the Whitworth bolts would pound or ricochet, and bowl far away sputtering, with the sound of a mass of hot iron plunged in water; and the great solid shot would smite the unresisting

ground with a sounding "thud," . . . Such were some of the sights and sounds of this great battle of iron missiles. . . . An hour has droned its flight since first the war began. There is no sign of weariness or abatement on either side. So long it seemed, that the din and crashing around began to appear the normal condition of nature there, and fighting man's element. The General proposed to go among the men and over to the front of the batteries, so at about two o'clock he and I started. We went along the lines of the infantry as they lay there flat upon the earth, a little to the front of the batteries. They were suffering little, and were quiet and cool, . . . To the question asked the men, "What do you think of this?" the replies would be, "O, this is bully," "We are getting to like it," "O, we don't mind this." And so they lay under the heaviest cannonade that ever shook the continent, and among them a thousand more jokes than heads were cracked. . . .

Our infantry was still unshaken, and in all the cannonade suffered very little. The batteries had been handled much more severely, . . . Guns had been dismounted. A great many caissons, limbers and carriages had been destroyed, and usually from ten to twenty-five men to each battery had been struck, at least along our part of the crest. Altogether the fire of the enemy had injured us much, both in the modes that I have stated, and also by exhausting our ammunition and fouling our guns, so as to render our batteries unfit for further immediate use. The scenes that met our eyes on all hands among the batteries were fearful. All things must end, and the great cannonade was no exception to the general law of earth. In the number of guns active at one time, and in the duration and rapidity of their fire, this artillery engagement, up to this time, must stand alone and pre-eminent in this war. . . . Two hundred and fifty guns, at least, rapidly fired for two mortal hours. . . .

At three o'clock almost precisely the last shot hummed, and bounded and fell, and the cannonade was over. The purpose of General Lee in all this fire of his guns—we know

it now, we did not at the time so well—was to disable our artillery and break up our infantry upon the position of the Second Corps, so as to render them less an impediment to the sweep of his own brigades and divisions over our crest and through our lines. . . . The artillery fight over, men began to breathe more freely, and to ask, What next, I wonder? The battery men were among their guns, some leaning to rest and wipe the sweat from their sooty faces, some were handling ammunition boxes and replenishing those that were empty. Some batteries from the artillery reserve were moving up to take the places of the disabled ones; the smoke was clearing from the crests. There was a pause between acts, with the curtain down, soon to rise upon the great final act, and catastrophe of Gettysburg. . . .

. . . "General, they say the enemy's infantry is advancing." We sprang into our saddles, a score of bounds brought us upon the all-seeing crest. To say that men grew pale and held their breath at what we and they there saw would not be true. Might not six thousand men be brave and without shade of fear, and yet, before a hostile eighteen thousand, armed, and not five minutes' march away, turn ashy white? None on that crest now need be told that the enemy is advancing. Every eye could see his legions, an overwhelming resistless tide of an ocean of armed men sweeping upon us! Regiment after regiment and brigade after brigade move from the woods and rapidly take their places in the lines forming the assault. Pickett's proud division, with some additional troops, hold their right; Pettigrew's (Worth's) their left. . . . More than half a mile their front extends; more than a thousand yards the dull gray masses deploy, man touching man, rank pressing rank, and line supporting line. The red flags wave, their horsemen gallop up and down; the arms of eighteen thousand men, barrel and bayonet, gleam in the sun, a sloping forest of flashing steel. Right on they move, as with one soul, in perfect order, without impediment of ditch, or wall or stream, over ridge and slope, through orchard and meadow, and cornfield, magnificent,

grim, irresistible. All was orderly and still upon our crest; no noise and no confusion. . . . The click of the locks as each man raised the hammer to feel with his fingers that the cap was on the nipple; the sharp jar as a musket touched a stone upon the wall when thrust in aiming over it, and the clicking of the iron axles as the guns were rolled up by hand a little further to the front, were quite all the sounds that could be heard. Cap-boxes were slid around to the front of the body; cartridge boxes opened, officers opened their pistol-holsters. Such preparations, little more was needed. . . .

All our available guns are now active, and from the fire of shells, as the range grows shorter and shorter, they change to shrapnel, and from shrapnel to canister; but in spite of shells, and shrapnel and canister, without wavering or halt, the hardy lines of the enemy continue to move on. The Rebel guns make no reply to ours, and no charging shout rings out to-day, as is the Rebel wont; but the courage of these silent men amid our shots seems not to need the stimulus of other noise. . . . And so across all that broad open ground they have come, nearer and nearer, nearly half the way, with our guns bellowing in their faces, until now a hundred yards, no more, divide our ready left from their advancing right. The eager men there are impatient to begin. Let them. First Harrow's breastworks flame; then Hall's; then Webb's. As if our bullets were the fire coals that touched off their muskets, the enemy in front halts, and his countless level barrels blaze back upon us. The Second Division is struggling in battle. The rattling storm soon spreads to the right and the blue trefoils are vicing with the white. All along each hostile front, a thousand yards, with narrowest space between, the volleys blaze and roll; . . . When the Rebel infantry had opened fire our batteries soon became silent, and this without their fault, for they were foul by long previous use. They were the targets of the concentrated Rebel bullets, and some of them had expended all their canister. But they were not silent before Rhorty was killed, Woodruff had fallen mortally wounded, and Cushing,

firing almost his last canister, had dropped dead among his guns shot through the head by a bullet. The conflict is left to the infantry alone. . . . Webb's men are falling fast, and he is among them to direct and encourage; but, however well they may now do, with that walled enemy in front, with more than a dozen flags to Webb's three, it soon becomes apparent that in not many minutes they will be overpowered, or that there will be none alive for the enemy to overpower. Webb has but three regiments, all small, the 69th, 71st, and 72d Pennsylvania—the 106th Pennsylvania, except two companies, is not here to-day—and he must have speedy assistance, or this crest will be lost. Oh, where is Gibbon? Where is Hancock?—some general—anybody with power and the will to support that wasting, melting line? No general came and no succor! . . . Not a moment must be lost. Colonel Hall I found just in rear of his line, sword in hand, cool, vigilant, noting all that passed and directing the battle of his brigade, . . . “How is it going?” Colonel Hall asked me, as I rode up. “Well, but Webb is hotly pressed and must have support, or he will be overpowered. “Can you assist him?” “Yes.” “You cannot be too quick.” “I will move my brigade at once.” “Good.” . . . The regiments marched by the right flank. Col. Hall superintended the movement in person. Col. Devereux coolly commanded the 19th Massachusetts. His major, Rice, had already been wounded and carried off. Lieut. Col. Macy, of the 20th Massachusetts, had just had his left hand shot off, and so Capt. Abbott gallantly led over this fine regiment. The 42d New York followed their excellent Colonel Mallon. Lieut. Col. Steele, 7th Michigan, had just been killed, and his regiment, and the handful of the 59th New York followed their colors. . . . I did not stop to see all this movement of Hall's, but from him I went at once further to the left, to the 1st brigade. General Harrow I did not see, but his fighting men would answer my purpose as well. The 19th Maine, the 15th Massachusetts, the 32d New York and the shattered old thunderbolt, the 1st Minne-

sota,—poor Farrell was dying then upon the ground where he had fallen,—all the men that I could find I took over to the right at the double quick. . . . The men saw, and as they swept to their places by the side of Hall and opened fire, they roared, and this in a manner that said more plainly than words—for the deaf could have seen it in their faces and the blind could have heard it in their voices—*the crest is safe!* . . . By reason of the disorganization incidental in Webb's brigade to his men's having broken and fallen back, as mentioned, in the two other brigades to their rapid and difficult change of position under fire, and in all the division in part to severe and continuous battle, formation of companies and regiments in regular ranks is lost; but commands, companies, regiments and brigades are blended and intermixed—an irregular extended mass. . . . The twelve flags of the regiments wave defiantly at intervals along the front; at the stone wall, at unequal distances from ours of forty, fifty, or sixty yards, stream nearly double this number of the battle flags of the enemy. These changes accomplished on either side, and the concentration complete, although no cessation or abatement in the general din of conflict since the commencement had at any time been appreciable, now it was as if a new battle, deadlier, stormier than before, had sprung from the body of the old— . . . The jostling, swaying lines on either side boil, and roar, and dash their flamy spray, two hostile billows of a fiery ocean. . . . No threats or expostulation now, only example and encouragement. . . . Individuality is drowned in a sea of clamor, and timid men, breathing the breath of the multitude, are brave. . . . The men do not cheer or shout; they growl, and over that uneasy sea, heard with the roar of musketry, sweeps the muttered thunder of a storm of growls. . . . My "Forward to the wall" is answered by the Rebel counter-command, "Steady, men!" and the wave swings back. Again it surges, and again it sinks. These men of Pennsylvania, on the soil of their own homesteads, the first and only to flee the wall, must be the first to storm it. . . . The color sergeant of the 72d Penn-

sylvania, grasping the stump of the severed lance in both his hands, waved the flag above his head and rushed towards the wall. . . . The line springs—the crest of the solid ground with a great roar, heaves forward its maddened load, men, arms, smoke, fire, a fighting mass. It rolls to the wall—flash meets flash; the wall is crossed—a moment ensues of thrusts, yells, blows, shots, and undistinguishable conflict, followed by a shout universal that makes the welkin ring again, and the last and bloodiest fight of the great battle of Gettysburg is ended and won. . . . Near me, saddest sight of the many of such a field and not in keeping with all this noise, were mingled the thick dead of Maine and Minnesota, and Michigan and Massachusetts, and the Empire and Keystone States. . . . Where the long lines of the enemy's thousands so proudly advanced, see how thick the silent men of gray are scattered. . . . Four thousand, not wounded are prisoners of war. . . . Some yield submissively with good grace, some with grim, dogged aspect, showing that but for the other alternative they could not submit to this. . . . Small arms, more thousands than we can count, are in our hands, scattered over the field. And those defiant battle-flags, some inscribed with "First Manassas," the numerous battles of the Peninsula, "Second Manassas," "South Mountain," "Sharpsburg," (our Antietam), "Fredericksburg," "Chancellorsville," and many more names, our men have, and are showing about, . . .

Such was really the closing scene of the grand drama of Gettysburg.

GETTYSBURG FIFTY YEARS LATER

From July 1 to July 4, 1913, there took place on the battle-field of Gettysburg a reunion of those who had worn the blue and the gray—the survivors of that dreadful ordeal. It was one of the most remarkable gatherings in the history of the world. An eye-witness described one of the scenes as follows: "On the following afternoon the survivor's of Pickett's men and of the Philadelphia Brigade,

which received them at the meeting fifty years before, assembled at the wall at the Bloody Angle. The latter bore aloft the white trefoil which they had carried forward at that point a half-century before, amid shouts of 'Hurrah for the white trefoil.' Its hues were dim now, however. On the other side of the wall, directly opposite, Pickett's men carried a dingy Confederate flag, one of those which had been borne across the fields in the famous charge. The survivors of the Philadelphia Brigade advanced to the wall on one side, while the thin line of Pickett's men approached through the long grass on the other. The two flags were crossed, and then a third was added, a silken banner, the Stars and Stripes. With hands stretched across the stone fence, the former foemen greeted each other in the hot sun, while some one began singing: 'My Country, 'tis of thee.' " *

In his address on July 4, President Woodrow Wilson spoke as follows:

But fifty years have gone by since then, and I crave the privilege of speaking to you of what those fifty years have meant.

What have they meant? They have meant peace and union and vigor, and the maturity and might of a great nation. We have found one another again as brothers and comrades in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten—except that we shall not forget the manly devotion of the men then arrayed against one another, now grasping hands and smiling into each other's eyes. . . .

But do we deem the nation complete and finished? These venerable men crowding here to this famous field have set us a great example of devotion and utter sacrifice. . . .

Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it? The day of our country's life has but broadened into morning. Do not put uniforms by. Put the harness of the present on. Lift your eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interest of righteous peace, of that prosperity which lies in a people's hearts and outlasts all wars and errors of men. Come let us be com-

* For the complete account see *The Outlook*, July 19, 1913.

rades together or soldiers yet to serve our fellow-men in quiet counsel where the blare of trumpets is neither heard nor heeded and where the things are done which make blessed the nations of the world in peace and righteousness and love.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CIVIL WAR

89. ATTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH TOWARD THE CIVIL WAR

As the war progressed the people of Great Britain, especially the manufacturers, desired a cessation of hostilities. Many of the leaders in the House of Commons asserted that the South should be allowed to go out of the Union peaceably. The following extracts are from the London Times of July 3, 1862, and later dates.

The present state of the campaign in America has been expected by every reasonable observer on this side the ocean. The event may prove to the Northern people that the English are not such prejudiced judges and such ignorant commentators as has been asserted at Washington. Ever since the beginning of this unhappy conflict the crowning victory which was to restore the South to Federal supremacy has always been dancing like a Will-o'-the-Wisp before the eyes of the Northerners. It has led them through a boundless waste of blood and money, it has caused them to stir up hatreds which a century perhaps will hardly appease, and it now glimmers before them as deceptively as ever, while they are sinking slowly but surely into the slough of national disorganization and bankruptcy. . . .

Disorganization in the North.

All the power of the Federal Government has been put forth; a debt which no man accurately knows, but which all suspect to be vastly greater than admitted by the Government, has been contracted; men have been raised by the hundred thousand; Europe has been put under contribution to furnish arms and stores and all the apparatus of conquest; four main armies have advanced into the Confederate

Large debt contracted.

territory; half-a-dozen expeditions have fastened themselves on the coast; and yet the South remains unconquered. It is demonstrated that the Federals can only effect their purpose by a campaign far more gigantic and by an expenditure far more lavish than that of the past twelvemonth. . . .

This state of affairs must cause deep reflection among men of every class both in England and America. Happily, the people of this country, with the exception of an insignificant minority, have long formed their opinion of the war. They can see that if the South is to be subjugated and held by force of arms, this consummation must be preceded by the most savage and relentless contest in the history of mankind, and followed by a political condition to which even war might be considered preferable. To impress this on the mind of the Northern people has been the object of the English press from the beginning, and the unanimity of English opinion may at length produce some effect. We have been right and the North has been wrong in so many things that our opinion is, at any rate, entitled to consideration. We would, then, once more raise our voice against the indefinite prosecution of this horrible war. While the scorching sun is filling the camps with fever and cholera, while the youth and strength of the country are being hurried to the common frontier in preparation for a new feast of blood in the autumn, while the North is burdening itself with a debt concerning which even its rulers fear to speak plainly, and while the great staples of the South are being given to the flames, we would ask the Federals, with whom the whole matter really rests, where is their conscience, where is their common humanity, or their boasted worldly prudence? They are in arms to enforce on men of their own blood submission to a rule which the latter detest. Although for months after Secession the most eminent men among them, including the late President and the present Secretary of State, declared that the subjugation of one part of the Union by another was a scandal not to be thought of, and that separation, though deplorable, could never be opposed

British
views on
the mag-
nitude of
the war.

Protest
against
the war.

by arms, yet the North now talks of conquest, and confiscation, and military colonies with all the readiness of an Austrian commandant. What becomes of the famous Declaration of Independence? What becomes of the theory that government derives its powers from the consent of the governed, if the populations of seven or eight great States, which, rich and poor, bond and free, white and black, are proved by events to be all of one mind, are now to be invaded, conquered, and kept down by a standing army in the name of Republican freedom? These things must at last become apparent to the American people. They are not so unlike the rest of mankind, so unlike their former selves, as to dispute what is clear to the whole world. That the South, if it wishes to go, should be allowed to depart peaceably is the only policy which is agreeable to justice and wisdom. Unless the North can learn to see this, it must bring evils untold on itself, on us, and on every European people. . . .

South
should be
allowed
to go
peaceably.

SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 18, 1862

(The London Times, July 19, 1862.)

The interests of the North and of the South were diametrically opposite. The South was purely an agricultural people, and its interest was perfect free trade. The supposed interests of the North were in the direction of protection. As the population of the North increased those States began to obtain an ascendancy in Congress, and then for the first time in 1824 a protective tariff was introduced. In 1828 that tariff was rendered more stringent. As far back as 1833 South Carolina protested against the tariff, and gave notice of her intention to withdraw from the Union. She was induced to remain upon a promise that the tariff should be relaxed; but that promise was not kept, and in 1846 it was made still heavier. In addition to that the Morrill tariff has since increased the duties upon imports to an enormous extent. The exports from the United States in 1860 amounted to \$350,000,000, of which no less than \$250,000,000

Contrary
views of
North and
South.

Effect of
the tariff
on the
South.

represented the produce of the South. If it were true that exports must be paid for by imports the South must either directly or indirectly be bearing an undue proportion of the taxation levied by the Federal Government. But the people of the South also complained that the increasing taxation was not levied for the purposes laid down in the constitution, but for the purpose of encouraging the ironmasters of Pennsylvania and the manufacturers of New England. The evil consequences of that taxation was felt by them in two ways, because, while they were called upon to bear an undue proportion of taxation, they were also obliged to pay an increased price for articles which they required from the North and which they could obtain cheaper and better in England. The real causes of the present disruption were taxation without representation and taxation levied not for the purposes of all the States, but for the benefit of particular States. A very large proportion of the cotton grown in the Southern States found its way to this country, and the stoppage of the supply has created intense suffering here. At Blackburn there were about 15,000 persons receiving relief, at Preston close upon 12,000 and about 17,000 claimants upon the Relief Fund.* The English people were patient and bore their trials quietly, but their patience and endurance must not be tried too far. . . .

Effect of
war in
Great
Britain.

90. PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865

(J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, VI, 276, 277. Washington, 1896.)

Fellow-Countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a state-

* "Millions are at present suffering from a scarcity of cotton and it must be had."—*London Times*, July 2, 1862.

It was estimated that 1,500,000 persons were at the time engaged in the cotton factories. These together with their dependants numbered 5,000,000 persons.

ment somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, extend and perpetuate this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of

other men's faces, but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

91. SCENE AT APPOMATTOX, 1865

General John B. Gordon entered the Confederate army as captain of infantry at the outbreak of the war. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and commanded a wing of General Lee's army at Appomattox Court House. In 1873 he was elected to the United States Senate from Georgia, but resigned his seat when in the midst of his second term. He was elected governor of Georgia in 1886. —(General John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, 443 *passim*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1903.)

General Longstreet's forces and mine at Appomattox, numbered, together, less than 8000 men; but every man able to bear arms was still resolute and ready for battle. There were present three times that many enrolled Confederates; but two thirds of them were so enfeebled by hunger, so wasted by sickness, and so footsore from constant marching that it was difficult for them to keep up with the army. They were wholly unfit for duty. It is important to note this fact as explaining the great difference in the number of those who fought and those who were to be fed. At the final meeting between General Lee and General Grant rations were ordered by General Grant for 25,000 Confederates.

Physical condition of Confederates, 1865.

Marked consideration and courtesy were exhibited at Appomattox by the victorious Federals, from the commanding generals to the privates in the ranks. General Meade, who had known General Lee in the old army, paid, after the surrender, an unofficial visit to the Confederate chieftain. After cordial salutations, General Lee said playfully to his former comrade in arms that years were telling upon him. General Meade, who had fought Lee at Gettysburg and in many subsequent battles, made the strikingly gracious and magnanimous answer: "not years, but General Lee himself has made me gray." . . . One of the knightliest soldiers of the Federal army, General Joshua L. Chamberlain of Maine, who afterward served with distinction as governor of his State, called his troops into line, and as my men marched in front of them, the veterans in blue gave a soldierly salute to those vanquished heroes—a token of respect from Americans to Americans, a final and fitting tribute from Northern to Southern chivalry. . . .

Courtesies between former foes.

During these last scenes at Appomattox some of the Confederates were so depressed in spirit, so filled with apprehensions as to the policy to be adopted by the civil authorities in Washington, that the future seemed to them shrouded in gloom. They knew that burnt homes and fenceless farms, poverty and ashes, would greet them on their return from the war. Even if the administration at Washington should

Apprehensions of General Lee's soldiers.

be friendly, they did not believe that the Southern States could recover in half a century from the chaotic condition in which the war had left them. The situation was enough to daunt the most hopeful and appall the stoutest hearts. "What are we to do? How are we to begin life again?" they asked. "Every dollar of our circulating medium has been rendered worthless. Our banks and rich men have no money. The commodities and personal property which formerly gave us credit have been destroyed. The Northern banks and money-lenders will not take as security our lands, denuded of houses, and without animals and implements for their cultivation. The railroads are torn up or the tracks are worn out. The negroes are freed and may refuse to work. Besides, what assurance can we have of law and order and the safety of our families with four million slaves suddenly emancipated in the midst of us and the restraints to which they have been accustomed entirely removed?"

To many intelligent soldiers and some of the officers the conditions were so discouraging, the gloom so impenetrable, that they seriously discussed the advisability of leaving the country and beginning life anew in some other land.

While recognizing the dire extremity which confronted us, I was inclined to take a more hopeful view of the future. I therefore spoke to the Southern soldiers on the field at Appomattox, in order to check as best I could their disposition to leave the country, and to counteract, if possible, the paralyzing effect of the overwhelming discouragements which met them on every side.

As we reached the designated point, the arms were stacked and the battle flags were folded. Those sad and suffering men, many of them weeping as they saw the old banners laid upon the stacked guns like trappings on the coffin of their dead hopes, at once gathered in compact mass around me. Sitting on my horse in the midst of them, I spoke to them for the last time as their commander. In all my past life I had never undertaken to speak where my own emotions were so literally overwhelming. I counselled such course of

action as I believed most conducive to the welfare of the South and of the whole country. I told them of my own grief which almost stifled utterance, and that I realized most keenly the sorrow that was breaking their hearts, and appreciated fully the countless and stupendous barriers across the paths they were to tread.

Reminding them of the benign Southern climate, of the fertility of their lands, of the vastly increased demand for the South's great staple and the high prices paid for it, I offered these facts as legitimate bases of hope and encouragement. I said to them that through the rifts in the clouds then above us I could see the hand of the Almighty God stretched out to help us in the impending battle with adversity; that He would guide us in the gloom, and bless every manly effort to bring back to desolated homes the sunshine and comforts of former years. I told them the principles for which they had so grandly fought and uncomplainingly suffered were not lost,—could not be lost,—for they were the principles on which the Fathers had built the Republic, and that the very throne of Jehovah was pledged that truth should triumph and Liberty live. As to the thought of their leaving the country, that must be abandoned. It was their duty as patriots to remain and work for the recuperation of our stricken section with the same courage, energy, and devotion with which they had fought for her in war. I urged them to enter cheerfully and hopefully upon the tasks imposed by the fortunes of war, obeying the laws, and giving, as I knew they would, the same loyal support to the general Government which they had yielded to the Confederacy. I closed with a prophecy that passion would speedily die, and that the brave and magnanimous soldiers of the Union army, when disbanded and scattered among the people, would become promoters of sectional peace and fraternity.

That prophecy would have been speedily fulfilled but for the calamitous fate that befell the country in the death of President Lincoln; and even in spite of that great misfortune, we should have much sooner reached the era of good-will

Effect of
death of
Lincoln.

and sectional concord if the spirit of the soldiers who did the fighting had animated the civilians who did the talking. . . .

General Gibbon, General Griffin, and General Merritt were appointed by General Grant to meet Generals Pendleton, Longstreet, and myself, appointed by General Lee. The special duty which devolved on these six officers was the discussion and drafting of all details to carry out the formal surrender, according to the general terms agreed upon by the commanders-in-chief. In all our intercourse with those three Union officers I can recall no expression or word that could possibly wound the sensibility of a Confederate. Rejoiced as they naturally were at the termination of the long and costly struggle, and at the ultimate triumph of the Union cause, they scrupulously avoided allusions to battles in which the Federal armies had been victors, and endeavored rather to direct conversation to engagements in which the Union forces had been vanquished. Indeed, Confederate officers generally observed and commented upon this spirit, which at that time seemed to actuate the privates as well as the officers of the victorious army. . . .

A great Frenchman pronounced the French Revolution an "about-face of the universe." The meeting of Lee and Grant at Appomattox was the momentous epoch of the century. It marked greater changes, uprooted a grander and nobler civilization, and, in the emancipation of one race and the impoverishment of another, it involved vaster consequences than had ever followed the fall of a dynasty or the wreck of an empire. It will stand in history as the Brook Kedron over which the Southern people passed to their Gethsemane; where every landscape was marred by ruins; where every breath of air was a lament and home a house of mourning.

The magnanimity exhibited at Appomattox justifies me in recording here my conviction that, had it been possible for General Grant and his soldiers to foresee the bloody sweat which through ten successive years was wrung from Southern brows, the Union army would then and there have resolved

Formal
agreement
at Appo-
mattox.

Lee and
Grant.

to combat all unfriendly legislation. Or, later, if Booth's bullet had not terminated the life filled with "charity to all and malice toward none," President Lincoln's benign purposes, seconded by the great-hearted among our Northern countrymen, would have saved the South from those caricatures of government which cursed and crushed her.

In looking back now over that valley of death—period of reconstruction,—its waste and its woe, it is hard to realize that the worn and impoverished Confederates were able to go through it. The risen South of to-day is a memorial of the same patience, endurance, and valor which immortalized the four years' struggle for Southern independence.

All accounts agree that when the two great commanders met in the little brick house at Appomattox, they presented a contrast that was unique and strikingly picturesque. A stranger, unacquainted with the situation, would have selected Lee for the conqueror and Grant for the vanquished hero. Prompted by a sincere respect for the illustrious Federal chieftain, General Lee was dressed in his best uniform, and appeared at the place of conference in faultless military attire. General Grant, on the other hand, had received, while on his lines among his soldiers, General Lee's reply to his last note. Without returning to headquarters for his dress uniform, the Union commander rode at once to the point of meeting, wearing his fatigue suit, his cavalry boots begrimed with Virginia mud, and his plain blue overcoat concealing all insignia of rank. I never heard General Grant say so, but his characteristic modesty and magnanimity, with which I became familiar in after years, lead me to believe that consideration for General Lee prompted this absence of ostentation. . . .

General Grant's own declaration, made many years after the war, that he felt "sad and depressed" as he rode to meet General Lee in the little village of Appomattox, is entirely consistent with every account given of his bearing at the surrender.

It was reported at the time, and has since been confirmed

by Union officers who were present, that he positively refused to permit the Union artillery to fire a salute in celebration of the victory over their own countrymen. The exhibitions of General Grant's magnanimity which I observed during my personal intercourse with him immediately after the war, later while he was President, and when he became a private citizen, are all consistent with the spirit manifested by him at the surrender of Lee's army. In his "Memoirs" he has given a quietus to that widely circulated romance that he returned to Lee his proffered sword. I do not doubt that he would have done so; but there was no occasion for Lee's offering it, because in the terms agreed upon it was stipulated that the Confederate officers should retain their side-arms. . . .

92. CHARACTER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(London Punch, in which the following poem was first printed, had been particularly severe in its criticisms of Mr. Lincoln. The poem was written at the time of his death.)

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier!
 You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
 His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt bristling hair,
 His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
 Of power or will to shine, of art to please!

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
 Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph
 Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain!

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
 The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,

Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for *you*?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer—
To lame my pencil, and to confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter, a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true;
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows;

How humble, yet how hopeful, he could be;
How in good fortune and in ill the same;
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head, and heart, and hand—
As one who knows where there's a task to do;
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude nature's thwarting might;—

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear,—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train;
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it: four long-suffering years'
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood;
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good will to men.

The old world and the new, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high;
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

CHAPTER XXV

RECONSTRUCTION

93. AN APPEAL TO THE SOUTH, 1865

Benjamin F. Perry was a leader in the Union party of South Carolina, and was opposed to nullification and civil war, but cast his lot with the South. He was appointed provisional governor of the State by President Johnson. The occasion of the speech was a public meeting at Greenville, South Carolina, July 3, 1865.—(B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men, with Speeches and Addresses*, second series, 229 *passim*. Greenville, S. C., 1881.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: This public meeting of the citizens of Greenville is one of deep humiliation and sorrow. A cruel and bloody war has swept over the Southern States. One hundred and fifty thousand of our bravest and most gallant men have fallen on the fields of battle! The land is filled with mourning widows and orphans! There is scarcely a house in which there has not been weeping for some one lost. Three thousand millions of dollars have been spent by the Southern States in carrying on this war! And now we are called upon to give up four millions of slaves, worth two thousand millions of dollars. Moreover, our country has been ravaged and desolated! Our cities, towns, and villages are smouldering ruins! Conquering armies occupy the country. The Confederacy has fallen, and we have been deprived of all civil government and political rights! We have neither law nor order. There is no protection for life, liberty or property. Everywhere there is demoralization, rapine and murder! Hunger and starvation are upon us! And now we meet as a disgraced and subjugated people

Effects of
war on the
South.

to petition the conquerors to restore our lost rights! Such are the bitter fruits of Secession!

The South
before the
war.

How different, Mr. Chairman, in tone, spirit, and character, was that meeting of the citizens of Greenville just five years ago, in this same building which inaugurated this most fatal, bloody and disastrous revolution! Then all was joy, hope, excitement and confidence. Seated in my law office looking towards this court house, I saw a crowd of persons rushing in, composed of college boys, and their professors, merchants, mechanics, doctors, lawyers, and idlers from the hotel, with a sprinkling of farmers and planters. Soon I heard the public speaking commence, and the air was rent with the wild and rapturous applause of the excited audience. The more extravagant the denunciators of the Union, the louder were the shouts of applause! My mind was then filled with the worst forebodings as to the future. I thought I foresaw all the evils which have since befallen our beloved country. But my political influence was gone, and my voice was powerless to stay the angry and excited feelings of my fellow citizens.

We were at that time, Mr. Chairman, the most prosperous, free and happy people on the face of the earth. The sun had never shone on an empire or nation whose future was more bright and glorious. But the public mind had, unfortunately, been prepared, in the Southern States, for thirty years past, for an effort at disunion. The people had been induced to believe that disunion would be a quiet blessing, and that it might come without war and bloodshed! The leading politicians of the South were anxiously waiting for some plausible pretext for seceding from the American Union. The election of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by a sectional party at the North, was regarded as a favorable opportunity for accomplishing their long cherished purpose. We were told after this event that there was no longer any safety in the Union for slavery or our constitutional rights.

Let us now see, Mr. Chairman, if there was any truth in

this assertion. Mr. Lincoln was elected in direct conformity of the Federal Constitution. He was elected in consequence of the political divisions and dissensions at the South. Had the Southern States been united on *one* candidate instead of voting for *three*, the result would have been different. Mr. Lincoln only received a little more than one-third of the votes cast in the Presidential election. He therefore went into office with a large majority of the American people opposed to his administration. There was at that time a majority of twenty-seven members in the House of Representatives in Congress in opposition to President Lincoln. There was a majority of six members of the Senate of the United States opposed to him. And Sir, a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, were opposed to the avowed principles of the Republican party which elected Mr. Lincoln. . . . The election of President Lincoln was, then, no just grounds for secession. . . . It is said that the Southern States left the Union to preserve slavery! How fatal the mistake! Every one ought to have known that slavery was stronger in the Union than it possibly could be out of the Union. Indeed, the Union was its only safety and protection. Whilst in the Union we had the power of recapturing our fugitive slaves. Out of the Union we could have no such power. The whole civilized world was opposed to us on this question, and as a *slave power* would have looked upon us with scornful jealousy.

Election
of Lincoln.

Slavery
and
Union.

But, Mr. Chairman, the madness and folly of commencing this revolution is now manifest to all. There was fanaticism at the South as well as at the North. Politicians did all they could in both sections to stir up the worst passions of the human heart, and make the people forget they were fellow citizens of one great republic. We were told that the Northern people would not fight; that there would be no war; and offers were made to drink all the blood that would be shed. History should have taught them that no great government like ours ever was or ever could be broken up without war and all its dire consequences.

Influence
of politicians.

The
uneven
contest.

How was it, Mr. Chairman, that the Southern States failed in their rebellion? It is true that the contest was a most unequal one. Eight million persons fighting against twenty-two millions! The one having neither government, army, navy or manufactures; and the other having all these, with an influx of foreigners and Southern negroes to increase their strength. The Southern people are an impulsive, enthusiastic people, but they want the energy and perseverance of the North. I said to my friends at the beginning of the war, that my greatest apprehension was, that our soldiers would get tired of the war and quit it. I did not believe it possible to hold in subjection eight millions of people, scattered over such an immense territory as composed the Southern States, if they were disposed to make any and every sacrifice, as the Dutch Republic did in their war of independence. But, sir, one great cause of our failure was, that the heart of the Southern people never was in this revolution! There was not a State, except South Carolina, in which there was a majority in favor of secession! Even in South Carolina, there were many districts in which one-half of the voters did not go to the polls. . . .

Majority
of people
not in
favor of
secession.

But, Mr. Chairman, the secession of eleven or twelve sovereign States, composing one-half of the territory of the United States, was something more than a rebellion. It was legitimate war between the two sections, and they acted towards each other throughout the war as recognized belligerents, and were so treated and recognized by foreign nations. . . . Surely a general officer who has been exchanged while this gigantic war was waging cannot now be regarded as a traitor, tried and executed as a traitor. To call such a war a rebellion is simply a misapplication of terms. The greatest and best men of the Southern States were most conscientiously leading this war, either in council or on the field of battle. In all history there is not a *more perfect model of a pure and great man* (save Washington) *than* General Lee. That he should now be hung as a traitor, would be an act of national infamy that would shock the whole civilized

The war
not a re-
bellion.

General
Lee.

world and render the name of the United States odious in history. . . .

There have been deeds of atrocity committed by the United States armies, which never can be forgotten in the Southern States. But I do entreat them to become loyal citizens and respect the national authorities of the Republic. Abandon at once and forever all notions of Secession, Nullification and Disunion, determine to live and to teach your children to live, as true American citizens. There will be in the future, if there is not now, as much of pride and grandeur in the name of "American citizen" as there once was in that of "Roman citizen." The Republic is destined to go on increasing in national power and greatness for centuries to come. As soon as the ferment of the revolution subsides, we shall be restored to all our civil rights, and be as free and republican as we ever were. There is no reason why there should be any sectional jealousy or ill feeling between the North and the South. They are greatly necessary to each other. Their interests are dependent and not rival interests, and now that slavery is abolished, there will be no bone of contention between the two sections. . . .

Loyalty
to country
urged.

The resolutions which I have had the honor of submitting for the adoption of this meeting are similar in purport to those adopted at Charleston, Columbia and elsewhere. They simply express our willingness to adopt the terms of the President's proclamation and return to our allegiance. We likewise ask for the appointment of a provisional governor and the restoration of the civil authorities. There is nothing in these resolutions to which the most sensitive can object. . . .

94. THE SOUTH AND CARPETBAG RULE, 1873

James S. Pike, before the Civil War, was one of the editorial writers on the New York Tribune. He served as United States minister at The Hague during the war. In 1873 he went South for the purpose of studying the *Carpetbag System* of government and made a special study of conditions in South Carolina.—(James S. Pike, *The Prostrate State*, 12 *passim*. New York, 1873.)

In the place of this old aristocratic society stands the rude form of the most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw, invested with the functions of government. . . . It is barbarism overwhelming civilization by physical force. It is the slave rioting in the halls of his master and putting that master under his feet. And, though it is done without malice and without vengeance, it is nevertheless none the less completely done. Let us approach nearer and take a closer view. We will enter the House of Representatives. Here sit one hundred and twenty-four members. Of these, twenty-three are white men, representing the remains of the old civilization. These are good-looking, substantial citizens. They are men of weight and standing in the communities they represent. They are all from the hill country. The frosts of sixty and seventy winters whiten the heads of some among them. . . . Grouped in a corner of the commodious and well-furnished chamber, they stolidly survey the noisy riot that goes on in the great black Left and Center, where the business and debates of the House are conducted, and where sit the strange and extraordinary guides of the fortunes of a once proud and haughty State. In this crucial trial of his pride, his manhood, his prejudices, his spirit, it must be said of the Southern Bourbon of the Legislature that he comports himself with a dignity, a reserve, and a decorum that command admiration. . . .

Deducting the twenty-three members referred to, who comprise the entire strength of the opposition, we find one hundred and one remaining. Of this one hundred and one, ninety-four are colored, and seven are their white allies. Thus the blacks outnumber the whole body of whites in the House more than three to one. On the mere basis of numbers in the State the injustice of this disproportion is manifest, since the black population is relatively four to three of the whites. A just rectification of the disproportion, on the basis of population merely, would give fifty-four whites to seventy black members. And the line of race very nearly marks the line of hostile politics. As things stand, the body

South
Carolina
Legisla-
ture.

Negro
domina-
tion.

is almost literally a Black Parliament, and it is the only one on the face of the earth which is the representative of a white constituency and the professed exponent of an advanced type of modern civilization. But the reader will find almost any portraiture inadequate to give a vivid idea of the body, and enable him to comprehend the complete metamorphosis of the South Carolina Legislature without observing its details. The Speaker is black, the Clerk is black, the door-keepers are black, the little pages are black, the chairman of the Ways and Means is black, and the chaplain is coal-black. At some of the desks sit colored men whose types it would be hard to find outside of Congo; whose costume, visages, attitudes, and expression only befit the forecabin of a buccaner. It must be remembered, also, that these men, with not more than half a dozen exceptions, have been themselves slaves, and that their ancestors were slaves for generations. . . .

The Speaker orders a member whom he has discovered to be particularly unruly to take his seat. The member obeys, and with the same motion that he sits down, throws his feet onto his desk, hiding himself from the Speaker by the soles of his boots. In an instant he appears again on the floor. After a few experiences of this sort, the Speaker threatens, in a laugh, to call "the gemman" to order. This is considered a capital joke and a guffaw follows. The laugh goes round and then the peanuts are cracked and munched faster than ever; one hand being employed in fortifying the inner man with this nutriment of universal use, while the other enforces the views of the orator. This laughing propensity of the sable crowd is a great cause of disorder. They laugh as hens cackle—one begins and all follow.

But underneath all this shocking burlesque upon legislative proceedings, we must not forget that there is something very real to this uncouth and untutored multitude. It is not all sham nor all burlesque. They have a genuine interest and a genuine earnestness in the business of the assembly which we are bound to recognize and respect unless we

General
disorder.

Sincerity
in the
legislature.

would be accounted shallow critics. They have an earnest purpose, born of a conviction that their position and condition are not fully assured, which lends a sort of dignity to their proceedings. The barbarous, animated jargon in which they so often indulge is on occasion seen to be so transparently sincere and weighty in their own minds, that sympathy supplants disgust. The whole thing is a wonderful novelty to them as well as to observers. Seven years ago these men were raising corn and cotton under the whip of the overseer. To-day they are raising points of order, and questions of privilege. They find they can raise one as well as the other. They prefer the latter. It is easier, and better paid. Then it is the evidence of an accomplished result. It means escape and defense from old oppressors. It means liberty. It means the destruction of prison walls only too real to them. It is the sunshine of their lives. It is their day of jubilee. . . .

Unusual
expendi-
tures.

For it must be remembered that not a dollar of it goes for interest on the State debt. The barter and sale of the offices in which the finances of the State are manipulated, which are divided among the numerous small counties under a system offering unusual facilities for the business, go on with as much activity as ever. The new Governor has the reputation of spending \$30,000 or \$40,000 a year on a salary of \$3,500, but his financial operations are taken as a matter of course, and only referred to with a slight shrug of the shoulders. . . .

The narration I have given sufficiently shows how things have gone and are going in this State, but its effect would be much heightened if there were time and room for details. Here is one: The total amount of the stationery bill of the House for the twenty years preceding 1861 averaged \$400 per annum. Last year it was \$16,000. . . .

The whole amount of the printing bills of the State last year, it is computed (for everything here has to be in part guesswork), aggregated the immense sum of \$600,000.

Bribery.

. . . In regard to all such shameless acts as this, and the

refusing of charters to responsible persons to make needed improvements in the State because the members are not bribed, the respectable white men of the Legislature say they should blush with shame if they felt that the real character of the State was represented in the body. But as it is they can only plead that scoundrelism is dominant and that all legislation is in the hands of unscrupulous knaves who belong in the penitentiary. The facts fill every decent citizen with mortification, but, outside the gang who hold control, every one claims exemption from all responsibility for the degradation into which the State has fallen.

The only drawback to the country, the only hindrance to an immediate accession of population from the best agricultural classes abroad, is this scoundrel government, which has so long rioted, and is yet rioting, in its robberies. There seems to be no way of even checking their intolerable practices but to flash the flambeau of an outside execration in their faces. They defy the indignation of the people they have ruined, but they are not proof against the indignation of the country at large. It becomes a public duty.

"To lash the rascals naked through the land" and aid this prostrate State to recover possession of itself, retrieve its standing before the world, and drag to condign punishment the culprits who have so long rioted in its spoils, and who so persistently prey upon its remains. . . .

CHAPTER XXVI

DIPLOMACY, FINANCE, AND POLITICS, 1865-1877

95. THE ALABAMA CLAIMS

Prior to his election to the United States Senate, George F. Hoar served in the House of Representatives and also in the Senate of Massachusetts. From 1869 to 1877 he was a member of the United States House of Representatives. He then served two terms as United States Senator. He was also a member of the Electoral Commission, 1876.—(George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, II, 130 *passim*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1903.)

A very interesting question was settled during the Administration of President Hayes as to the disposition of the \$15,500,000 recovered from Great Britain by the award of the tribunal of Geneva for the violation of the obligation of neutrality during the Civil War. Great Britain, after what we had claimed was full notice of what was going on, permitted certain war vessels to be constructed in England for the Confederate Government. She permitted those vessels to leave her ports and, by a preconcerted arrangement, to receive their armament, also procured in Great Britain. She turned a deaf, an almost contemptuous ear, to the remonstrances of Mr. Adams, our Minister. The Foreign Office, after a while, informed him that they did not wish to receive any more representations on that subject. But, as the War went on and the naval and military strength of the United States increased and became more manifest, Great Britain became more careful. At last some Rebel rams were built by the Lairds, ship-builders of Liverpool. Mr. Adams

procured what he deemed sufficient evidence that they were intended for the Confederate service, and made a demand on Lord Russell, the British Foreign Minister, that they be detained. To this Lord Russell replied that he had submitted the matter to the Law officers of Her Majesty's Government, and they could see no reason for interfering. To this Mr. Adams instantly replied that he received the communication with great regret, adding, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." Lord Russell hastily reconsidered his opinion, and ordered the rams to be stopped. .

He afterwards, as appears in his biography by Spencer Walpole, admitted his error in not interfering in the case of the vessels that had gone out before. But the mischief was done. The terror of these Confederate vessels had driven our commerce from the sea, or had compelled our merchant vessels to sail under foreign flags, and had enormously increased the rate of insurance to those who kept the sea under our flag.

After the War had ended a demand for compensation was earnestly pressed upon Great Britain. A demand was made to refer the claims to arbitration, and a treaty negotiated for that purpose by Reverdy Johnson under Andrew Johnson's Administration, was rejected by the Senate, on the ground, among other reasons, that the element of chance entered into the result.

Thereafter, in General Grant's time, a Joint High Commission to deal with this controversy was agreed upon between the two countries, which sat in Washington, in 1871. The Commissioners in behalf of the United States were Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; Robert C. Schenck, then our Minister to England; Samuel Nelson, Judge of the Supreme Court; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, lately Attorney-General, and George H. Williams, afterwards Attorney-General. On behalf of Great Britain there were Earl de Grey and Ripon, afterwards Marquis of Ripon; Sir Stafford H. Northcote, afterwards Earl of Idlesleigh; Edward Thorn-

ton, then the British Minister here; John A. MacDonald, Premier of Canada, and Montague Bernard, Professor of International Law at Oxford. The two countries could not, in all probability, have furnished men more competent for such a purpose. They agreed upon a treaty. The rules by which neutral governments were to be held to be bound for the purposes of the arbitration were agreed on beforehand in the Treaty itself. They agreed to observe these rules between themselves in the future, and to invite other maritime powers to accede to them. The Treaty also contained a statement that Her Britannic Majesty had "authorized her High Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." I am not aware that a like apology has ever been made by Great Britain during her history to any other country. There was a provision, also, for the reference of some other matters in dispute between the two countries. One of these related to the fisheries—a source of irritation between this country and the British possessions north of us ever since the Revolution. . . .

It was agreed to submit the questions of the claims growing out of the escape of the Rebel cruisers to a tribunal which was to sit at Geneva. Of this, one member was to be appointed by each of the parties, and the others by certain designated foreign governments. Our Commissioner was Charles Francis Adams, who had borne himself so wisely and patiently during the period of the Civil War. The English Commissioner was Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice of England. The United States was represented by Caleb Cushing, William M. Evarts and Morrison R. Waite, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, as counsel.

Adams rarely betrayed any deep emotion on any public occasion, however momentous. But it must have been hard for him to conceal the thrill of triumph, after the ignominy to which he had submitted during that long and anxious

time, when he heard the tribunal pronounce its judgment condemning Great Britain to pay \$15,500,000 damages for the wrong-doing against which he had so earnestly and vainly protested. Perhaps the feeling of his grandfather when he signed the Treaty of Independence in 1783 might alone be compared to it. Yet his father, John Quincy Adams, had something of the same feeling when, at the close of a war which put an end forever to the impressment of American seamen, and made the sailor in his ship as safe as the farmer in his dwelling, he signed the Treaty which secured our boundary and our fisheries as they had been secured by his father. . . .

The \$15,500,000 was promptly paid. Then came the question what to do with it. There was no doubt anywhere that the owners of vessels or cargoes that had been captured or destroyed by the cruisers for whose departures from British ports Great Britain was in fault were entitled to be paid. That, however, would not consume the fund. The fund had been paid in gold coin by Great Britain, September 9, 1873, and had been covered into the Treasury the same day. This sum was invested in a registered bond for the amount of the five per cent. loan of 1881, dated September 10, 1873, inscribed, "Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, in trust. To be held subject to the future disposition of Congress, etc." This sum largely exceeded what was necessary to make good the principal of all losses directly resulting from the damages caused by the insurgent cruisers, above what had already been reimbursed from insurance. These claims were popularly termed the "claims for direct damages. . . .

96. DISPOSAL OF THE PUBLIC LANDS BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain*, House Miscellaneous Documents, 2d Session, 47th Congress, Vol. XIX, p. 223 *passim*.)

HOMESTEAD LEGISLATION

Public
lands and
the people.

The homestead bill, or the granting of free homes from and on the public domain, became a national question in 1852. The Free Soil Democracy, at Pittsburgh, Pa., August 11, 1852, in National Convention, nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, for President and Vice-President, and adopted the following as the 12th plank or resolution in their platform:

That the public lands of the United States belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

Public
lands and
political
platforms.

Thereafter it became a national question until its passage in 1862, and was in the platforms of political parties. It was petitioned for and against. Public sentiment was aroused. It was a serious innovation and would cause an almost entire change in the settlement laws. Instead of the public lands being sold for cash, for profit, or being taken, first, under the pre-emption system, which eventuated in cash purchases, they were to be given to actual settlers who would occupy, improve, and cultivate them for a term of years, and then receive a patent free of acreage charges, with fees paid by the homesteader sufficient to cover cost of survey and transfer of title.

It was the third and most important step in the history of the public land system. Once adopted, no person could estimate its moral, social, and political effects.*

* For the first step dealing with the public lands, see pp. 318-320. The second step was pre-emption. The first act relating to pre-emption was

The public land system for eighty years prior to 1862 had attracted the attention of the ablest men in the Nation. The chairmen of committees in Congress charged with its care were able and inquiring men. The third change and new system was the result of experience and investigation by some of the profoundest men of the age. . . .

Early history of public lands.

The rich and fertile lands of the Mississippi Valley were fast filling up with settlers. Agricultural lands in the Middle States, which, after the year 1824, were bought for \$1.25 per acre, now sold at from \$50 to \$80 per acre. Former purchasers of these Government lands in the Middle, Western, and Southern States were selling their early purchases for this great advance, and moving west to Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri, and there again taking cheap Government lands under the pre-emption laws.

The western emigration caused a rush—a migration of neighborhoods in many localities of the older Western States. Following the sun, their pillar of fire, these State founders moved westward, a resistless army of agents of American civilization, and there was a demand for homes on the public lands, and a strong pressure for the enactment of a law which should confine locators to small tracts, and require actual occupation, improvement, and cultivation.

A fierce political battle now ensued, beginning in 1854, and continuing until 1862, the year of the passage of the law. The demand of the settlers was incessant and constant. . . .

The essence of the homestead law and the amendments is embodied in the conditions of actual settlement, dwelling

Homestead law.

passed by Congress, March 3, 1801. This right is defined by Donaldson, *The Public Domain*, p. 214, in the following: "This pre-emption or preference right thus first established was a step toward abolishing the sale of unoffered land, and giving a settler the first right or preference as against a person desiring to purchase and hold for investment or speculation.

"The essential conditions of a pre-emption are actual entry upon, residence in a dwelling, and improvement and cultivation of a tract of land. The several pre-emption acts give a preference to the settlers. . . .

"The pre-emption system arose from the necessities of settlers, and through a series of more than fifty-seven years of experience in attempts to sell or otherwise dispose of the public lands. The early idea of sales for revenue was abandoned, and a plan of disposition for homes was substituted."

on, and cultivation of the soil embraced in an entry. It gives for a nominal fee, equal to \$34 on the Pacific coast and \$26 in the other States, to a settler—a man or woman over the age of twenty-one years, head of a family, or a single person above the age of twenty-one years, a citizen of the United States or having declared an intention of becoming such—the right to locate upon 160 acres of unoccupied public land in any of the public land States and Territories subject to entry at a United States land office, to live upon the same for a period of five years, and, upon proof of a compliance with the law, to receive a patent therefor free of cost or charge for the land. Full citizenship is requisite to obtain final title.

The present homestead law contains all of the beneficial features of the pre-emption act with the additions suggested by experience and the changed condition of national life. The eighth section of the act contains the substance of the pre-emption act in the matter of purchase. If the locator desires to buy his homestead outright at the end of six months, he can, upon due proof, pay for his land at \$1.25 or \$2.50 per acre, as the case may be, which is called commutation of a homestead. It contains one feature as broad in its terms and as beneficial in its principle as the domain it covers. It is as follows:

No lands acquired under the provisions of this act shall, in any event, become liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.

The homestead act is now the approved and preferred method of acquiring title to the public lands. It has stood the test of eighteen years (1862-1880), and was the outgrowth of a system extending through nearly eighty years, and now, within the circle of a hundred years since the United States acquired the first of her public lands, the homestead act stands as the concentrated wisdom of legislation for settlement of the public lands. It protects the Government, it fills the States with homes, it builds up communities, and lessens the chances of social and civil disorder by giving

ownership of the soil, in small tracts, to the occupants thereof. It was copied from no other nation's system. It was originally and distinctively American, and remains a monument to its originators.

The total number of entries under this act from May, 1862, to June 30, 1880 was 469,782; the area embraced therein was 55,667,044 acres. . . .

Number
of entries.

GRANTS AND RESERVATIONS FOR EDUCATION

For public or common schools: Every sixteenth section of public land in the States admitted prior to 1848, and every sixteenth and thirty-sixth section of such land in the States and Territories since organized—estimated at 67,893,919 acres.

Grants
for public
schools.

For seminaries or universities: The quantity of two townships, or 46,080 acres, in each State or Territory containing public land, and in some instances, a greater quantity, for the support of seminaries or schools of a higher grade—estimated at 1,165,520 acres.

Grants of
land for
univers-
sities.

For agricultural and mechanical colleges: The grant to all the States for agricultural and mechanical colleges, by act of July 2, 1862, and its supplements, of 30,000 acres, for each Representative and Senator in Congress to which the State was entitled, of land "in place" where the State contained a sufficient quantity of public land subject to sale at ordinary private entry at the rate of \$1.25 per acre, and of scrip representing an equal number of acres where the State did not contain such description of land, the scrip to be sold by the State and located by its assignees on any such land in other States and Territories, subject to certain restrictions. Land in place, 1,770,000 acres; land scrip, 7,830,000 acres; total, 9,600,000 acres. In all, 78,659,439 acres for educational purposes under the heads above set out to June 30, 1880.

Public
lands for
agricul-
tural
colleges.

The lands thus ceded to the several States were disposed of or are held for disposition, and the proceeds used as per-

manent endowments for common school funds. . . . As an illustration, the State of Ohio has a permanent endowment for education called the "Irreducible State Debt," the result of the sale of all granted lands for education, of \$4,289,718.

The importance attached to education by the founders of the republic is shown by the provisions they made for its permanent endowment. Indeed, in the earliest settlements on this continent of the Anglo-Americans, measures were adopted in the course of education, not only as essential to morals, social order, and individual happiness, but as necessary to new and liberal institutions. Every immigrant ship had its schoolmaster on board, each settlement erected its school-house, and the cultivation of the mind advanced with the culture of the soil from the landing of the *Mayflower* through our colonial history.

Popular
education
prior to
the Revo-
lution.

Prior to the Revolution, in the different colonies the subject of popular education had attracted attention, and provision had been made for its practical realization. The theory of *general* education found no basis in the aristocratic social constitution of the mother country, while in the colonies themselves were to be found influences decidedly hostile to it. The injustice and persecution, however, which had caused the immigration to this country, especially to the northern colonies, wonderfully neutralized the religious and political prejudices of our forefathers, and prepared them to accept doctrines of very opposite tendency. The comparative feebleness of aristocratic prestige in the forests of the New World permitted the development of the sentiment of independent manhood. The establishment of democracy was followed by the natural development of its principles, especially in the direction of popular education.

GRANTS OF PUBLIC LANDS FOR RAILROADS FROM 1850 TO 1880

March 2, 1833, Congress authorized the State of Illinois to divert the canal grant of March 2, 1827, and to construct a railroad with the proceeds of said lands. This was the

Illinois
Central
grant.

first congressional enactment providing for a land grant in aid of a railroad, but was not utilized by the State. . . .

The act of September 20, 1850, was the first railroad act of real importance, and initiated the system of grants of land for railroads by Congress which prevailed until after July 1, 1862. This grant gave the State of Illinois alternate sections of land (even-numbered) for six sections in width on either side of the road [present Illinois Central] and branches, being a grant of specific sections.

The second section initiated the "indemnity" practice, or the granting of lands to the company in lieu of lands within the original grant occupied by legal settlers at the time of the definite location of the route, to be taken within fifteen miles of the road, and designated the method of disposition. The third section provided that lands of the United States within the grant limits should not be sold at less than the double minimum price (\$2.50), being an increase of the price of lands from \$1.25 to \$2.50 per acre, or from single to double minimum. It provided for a forfeiture of the grant, with payment by the State to the United States for lands sold, in case of failure to construct within a certain fixed time. Unsold lands were to revert to the public domain, and purchasers from the State to have good title. This was providing for default and reversion thereafter.

The road was to be a public highway, to be used by the Government free of toll or other charges, and the mails were to be carried at prices to be fixed by Congress.

This act extended like terms and conditions to the States of Alabama and Mississippi in aid of the Mobile and Ohio road which was to connect with the Illinois Central and branches—all of which roads are now established [1883]. . . .

By an act of the Illinois legislature, of date February 10, 1851, the Illinois Central Railroad Company was incorporated as a body politic and corporate. . . .

The road received from the State the lands granted by the National Government, viz: 2,595,053 acres. The State thus far [1883] has received in interest alone (the Illinois

Central Railroad's gross income being a perpetual source of income to the State) more than \$3 per acre for the lands. . . . The income from this source in 1879 was over \$325,477.38. . . .

Railroad
grants,
1852.

The Hannibal and Saint Joseph and Missouri Pacific Railroads were the roads built under the act of June 10, 1852, donating to the State of Missouri certain lands. This act contained two features in addition to the main provisions of the Illinois grant, viz, a plan of disposition of the lands granted, and a clause directing the Secretary of the Interior to offer at public sale, at periods, at the double minimum price (\$2.50 per acre) the reserved Government sections. . . .

Grants in
other
States.

The series of grants to Iowa and other States in 1856, and the Minnesota act of 1857, were in the form and substance of the Missouri grants of June 10, 1852, with the change of "odd" for "even" in the description of the sections granted to the States.

Railroad
to the
Pacific.

Prior to July 1, 1862, there had been constant agitation of the question of a railroad to the Pacific, beginning seriously from about the time of the settlement of the northern boundary by the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, and the organization of Washington Territory. . . .

After the admission of the State of California into the Union, in 1850, and up to 1862, a host of measures were proposed in Congress for a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. . . .

The public having by petition evidenced their opinion to Congress, the Union Pacific Railroad Company was incorporated by a direct act of the Congress of the United States, July 1, 1862. They were to build a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. This was a complete change in the system of land bounties to aid in the building of railroads. The grant was direct to the corporation, thus avoiding the established rule of using a State as a trustee and agent of transfer. It had been fiercely contended prior to this that Congress could not create a corporation to do business in a State without the consent of the State. The company was given right of way, allowances for

shops, stations, etc., and in aid of construction "every alternate section of public land" by odd numbers, unless previously disposed of, reserved, or mineral (coal and iron afterward construed not to be reserved by this term), to the extent of five alternate sections per mile on each side of the road. . . .

The reports of construction of land-grant railroads during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, show an aggregate of 359 miles, which, taken with those previously reported (viz, 15,071 miles), make a total of 15,430 miles of such roads distributed as follows:

Construction of
land-
grant
railroads.

	MILES
In Alabama.....	822
In Arkansas.....	620
In California.....	1,228
In Colorado.....	298
In Dakota.....	196
In Louisiana.....	152
In Michigan.....	1,005
In Minnesota.....	2,389
In Mississippi.....	406
In Missouri.....	703
In Nebraska.....	832
In Nevada.....	460
In Florida.....	247
In Illinois.....	705
In Indian Territory.....	155
In Iowa.....	1,672
In Kansas.....	1,654
In Oregon.....	227
In Texas (where there are no United States lands, grants being made by State).....	342
In Utah.....	255
In Washington.....	106
In Wisconsin.....	553
In Wyoming.....	400
	<hr/> 15,427

CHAPTER XXVII

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES, 1866-1886

97. STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

(Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, 9 *passim*. Washington, 1888.)

Strikes
and lock-
outs.

The industrial disturbances which have been so frequent in this country since 1877 really establish the period as one of strikes and lockouts. A strike occurs when the employés of an establishment refuse to work unless the management complies with some demand. A lockout occurs when the management refuses to allow the employés to work unless they will work under some condition dictated by the management. In effect strikes and lockouts are practically the same thing, the disturbances simply originating with one side or the other in the case. . . .

Commencing in 1880 with 3,477 [strikes] the number dropped in 1881 to 2,928; to a still lower point in 1882, viz., 2,105; while in 1883 the number rose again quite near to that of 1881, or to 2,759. A rapid fall again occurred in 1884, the number being 2,367, while in 1885 the number of establishments subjected to strikes was smaller than in any previous year named, except 1882, it being, for 1885, 2,284. In 1886 the number of establishments rose to 9,861, while in 1887 it has dropped back to less than 5,000. In 1887 the number for the first six months was, in round numbers, 3,000, leaving 1862 establishments subjected to strike during the latter half of the present year. It thus appears that

the turning point was reached in 1886, and that it can be emphatically stated that strikes are now on the decline. . . .

EMPLOYÉES INVOLVED IN STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

YEARS	STRIKES Employés Striking and Involved	LOCKOUTS Employés Locked Out
1881	129,521	655
1882	154,671	4,131
1883	149,763	20,512
1884	147,054	18,121
1885	242,705	15,424
1886	499,489	101,980

Of the 22,304 establishments in which strikes occurred, the strikes in 18,342, or 82.24 per cent. of the whole, were ordered by labor organizations, while of the 2,214 establishments in which lockouts occurred 1,753, or 79.18 per cent., were ordered by combinations of managers.

Success followed the strikes occurring in 10,375 establishments. The number of persons striking and involved in the successful strikes was 518,583. In 3,004 establishments the strikes were partially successful, and in these establishments there were 143,976 persons involved, while the whole number of persons involved in the 8,910 establishments where the strikes were failures was 660,396. . . .

Number
of success-
ful strikes.

Strikes for an increase of wages occurred in 9,439 establishments; of these the strikes in 6,229, or 65.99 per cent., were successful, while in 796, or 8.43 per cent., the strikes were partly successful, and in 2,414 establishments, or 25.58 per cent., the strikes for this cause failed.

In 4,344 establishments strikes were resorted to to secure a reduction of the hours of labor; in 1,055, or 24.29 per cent., success was the result; in 966, or 22.24 per cent., the strikes were partly successful; and in 2,323, or 53.47 per cent., the strikers were defeated. . . .

Efforts to
reduce
hours of
labor.

The loss to the strikers for the period involved was \$51,814,723. The loss to employés through lockouts for the same period was, \$8,157,717, or a total wage loss to employés

Losses to
strikers
and em-
ployés.

of \$59,972,440. This loss occurred for both strikes and lock-outs in 24,518 establishments, or an average loss of \$2,446 to each establishment, and of over \$40 to each person involved. . . .

Earlier
strikes.

Having presented a detailed account of strikes and lock-outs occurring during the years 1881-1886, inclusive, it can not fail to be of interest to cast a glance toward the past, in order to discover, if possible, whether the phenomena of strikes and lockouts are novel in our industrial history, or whether they have had their beginnings in times and under conditions which have passed away; whether they are the result of the recent powerful organizations of workingmen or whether they are the outgrowth of discontent and dissatisfaction with existent industrial conditions, or the natural result of industrial development. While it may truly be said that the strike, as a method pursued by workingmen to obtain the redress of real or fancied grievances, has only recently assumed such importance as to call for an investigation by the government of the United States, yet it is equally true that the strike is not a new weapon in the hand of the laborer, for isolated cases of strikes existed before the dawn of the present century. Though it is the very generally accepted opinion that the disturbance in New York City in 1803, known as the "Sailors' strike," was the earliest example of the strike known in this country, this opinion may be authoritatively controverted by facts developed in the present investigation, which afford proof of a series of strikes among the boot and shoe makers of Philadelphia, beginning in 1796, and make it reasonably certain that a strike occurred among the bakers of New York City, as early as 1741.

From these beginnings the practice of striking by employs who desired some concession regarding their wages, or were otherwise dissatisfied with the conditions under which they worked, grew until in 1835 strikes had become so numerous as to call forth remonstrant comments from the public press, the New York Daily Advertiser, on June 6, observing that

"strikes are all the fashion," and that "it is an excellent time for the journeymen to come from the country to this city." From this period up to the present time strikes have been common, their frequency depending upon the industrial conditions which prevailed. . . .

As early as 1792 there was an association of journeymen shoemakers in Philadelphia, and in May, 1796 a strike or "turn-out" was ordered by this organization for an increase of wages. The strike was successful. . . .

In November, 1803, a strike occurred in New York City, which is commonly known as the "Sailors' strike," and which has been generally considered the first strike in the United States. A number of sailors who had been receiving \$10 per month demanded an increase to \$14. The sailors formed in a body, marched around the city, and compelled other seamen who were employed at the old rates to leave their ships and join the strike. The strikers were pursued and dispersed by the constables, who arrested their leader, and lodged him in jail—the strike terminating unsuccessfully.

CHAPTER XXVIII

POLITICAL CHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION, 1880-1890

98. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, 1883

January 16, 1883, Congress passed the "Civil Service Law," which in general still governs the Federal service. This act, usually known as the Pendleton bill since it was introduced into the Senate by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio, established the United States Civil Service Commission, consisting of three members. Since that time there has been a large extension of the "classified service," the name applied to positions which are filled by persons who have passed the competitive examinations. The classified offices reported June 30, 1910, numbered 235,000, and those which were unclassified, or excepted, 133,000.—(Congressional Record, Vol. 14, Part I, pp. 204 *passim*, 47th Congress, Second Session, December 4, 1882-January 9, 1883.)

Mr. Pendleton: The necessity of a change in the civil administration of this Government has been so fully discussed in the periodicals and pamphlets and newspapers, and before the people, that I feel indisposed to make any further argument. This subject, in all its ramifications, was submitted to the people of the United States at the fall elections, and they have spoken in no low or uncertain tone.

I do not doubt that local questions exerted great influence in many States upon the result; but it is my conviction, founded on the observation of an active participation in the canvass in Ohio, that dissatisfaction with the methods of administration adopted by the Republican party in the past few years was the most important single factor in reaching the conclusion that was attained. I do not say that the

Status of
the Civil
Service.

civil service of the Government is wholly bad. I can not honestly do so. I do not say that the men who are employed in it are all corrupt or inefficient or unworthy. That would do very great injustice to a great number of faithful, honest, and intelligent public servants. But I do say that the civil service is inefficient; that it is expensive; that it is extravagant; that it is in many cases and in some senses corrupt; that it has welded the whole body of its employés into a great political machine; that it has converted them into an army of officers and men, veterans in political warfare, disciplined and trained, whose salaries, whose time, whose exertions at least twice within a very short period in the history of our country have robbed the people of the fair results of Presidential elections.

I repeat, Mr. President, that the civil service is inefficient, expensive, and extravagant, and that it is in many instances corrupt. Is it necessary for me to prove facts which are so patent that even the blind must see and the deaf must hear?

At the last session of Congress, in open Senate, it was stated and proven that in the Treasury Department at Washington there are 3,400 employés, and that of this number the employment of less than 1,600 is authorized by law and appropriations made for their payment, and that more than 1,700 are put on or off the rolls of the Department at the will and pleasure of the Secretary of the Treasury, and are paid not out of appropriations made for that purpose but out of various funds and balances of appropriations lapsed in the Treasury in one shape or another which are not by law appropriated to the payment of these employés. I was amazed. I had never before heard that such a state of affairs existed. I did not believe it was possible until my honorable colleague rose in his place and admitted the general truth of the statement and defended the system as being necessary for the proper administration of the Treasury Department.

Mr. President, we see in this statement whence comes that immense body of public officials, inspectors, detectives,

The
Treasury
Depart-
ment.

deputies, examiners, from the Treasury Department who have for years past been sent over the States for the purpose of managing Presidential conventions and securing Presidential elections at the public expense.

I hold in my hand a statement made before the committee which reported this bill, showing that in one of the divisions of the Treasury Department at Washington, where more than nine hundred persons were employed, men and women, five hundred and more of them were entirely useless, and were discharged without in any degree affecting the efficiency of the bureau. I do not intend to misstate any fact to-day if I can avoid it, and therefore I read from the testimony taken before the committee. Every gentleman can find it if he has not it already on his table. The statement to which I refer I read from page 121 of report of committee No. 576:

The extravagance of the present system was well shown in the examination of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing by a committee of which I was chairman. Of a force of nine hundred and fifty-eight persons five hundred and thirty-nine with annual salaries amounting to \$390,000, were found to be superfluous and were discharged. The committee reported that for years the force in some branches had been twice and even three times as great as the work required. In one division—

I beg Senators to listen to this—

In one division a sort of platform had been built underneath the iron roof, about seven feet above the floor, to accommodate the surplus counters. It appeared that the room was of ample size without this contrivance for all the persons really needed. In another division were found twenty messengers doing work which it was found could be done by one. The committee reported that the system of patronage was chiefly responsible for the extravagance and irregularities which had marked the administration of the bureau, and declared that it had cost the people millions of dollars in that branch of the service alone. Under this system the

office had been made to subserve the purpose of an almshouse or asylum.

In consequence of this report the annual appropriation for the Printing Bureau was reduced from \$800,000 to \$200,000, and out of the first year's savings was built the fine building now occupied by that bureau. . . .

Mr. President, a Senator who is now present in the Chamber and who will recognize the statement when I make it, though I shall not indicate his name, told me that the Secretary of one of the Departments of the Government said to him, perhaps to the Committee on Appropriations, at the last session, that there were seventeen clerks in his Department for whom he could find no employment; that he did need one competent clerk of a higher grade, and if the appropriation were made for that one clerk, at the proper amount according to the gradations of the service and the appropriation for the seventeen were left out, he could, without impairing the efficiency of his Department, leave those seventeen clerks off the roll; but if the appropriation should be made the personal, social, and political pressure was so great that he would be obliged to employ and pay them, though he could find no employment for them.

Clerks
with no
employ-
ment.

Need I prove, Mr. President, that which is known to all men, that a systematic pressure has been brought upon the clerks in the Departments of the Government this year to extort from them a portion of the salary that is paid to them under a system which the President himself scouts as being voluntary, and that they are led to believe and fairly led to believe that they have bought and paid for the offices which they fairly hold and that the good faith of those who take from them a portion of their salary is pledged to their retention in their positions?

Clerks
forced to
contribute
portions
of
salaries.

I have said before upon the floor of the Senate that this whole system demoralizes everybody who is engaged in it. It demoralizes the clerks who are appointed. That is inevitable. It demoralizes those who make the appointment. That also is inevitable. And it demoralizes Senators and

Representatives who by the exercise of their power as Senators and Representatives exert pressure upon the appointing power.

I am disposed to speak with due moderation and with respect for every gentleman who sits in this Chamber. I certainly desire in a statement like this not to make personal reflections upon anybody; but I say that this system, permeating the whole civil service of the country, demoralizes everybody connected with it, the clerks, the appointing power, and those who by their official position and their relations to the executive administration of the Government have the influence necessary to put these clerks in office.

Mr. President, how can you expect purity, economy, efficiency to be found anywhere in the service of the Government if the report made by this committee to the Senate has even the semblance of truth? If the civil service of the country is to be filled up with superfluous persons, if salaries are to be increased in order that assessments may be paid, if members of Congress having friends or partisan supporters are to be able to make places for them in public employment, how can you expect Senators and Representatives to be economical and careful in the administration of the public money? . . .

The bill has for its foundation the simple and single idea that the offices of the Government are trusts for the people; that the performance of the duties of those offices is to be in the interest of the people; that there is no excuse for the being of one office or the paying of one salary except that it is in the highest practicable degree necessary for the welfare of the people; that every superfluous office-holder should be cut off; that every incompetent office-holder should be dismissed; that the employment of two where one will suffice is robbery; that salaries so large that they can submit to the extortion, the forced payment of 2 or 10 per cent. are excessive and ought to be diminished. I am not speaking of purely voluntary contributions.

If it be true that offices are trusts for the people, then it is

Public
office a
trust
from the
people.

also true that the offices should be filled by those who can perform and discharge the duties in the best possible way. Fidelity, capacity, honesty, were the tests established by Mr. Jefferson when he assumed the reins of government in 1801. He said then, and said truly, that these elements in the public offices of the Government were necessary to an honest civil service, and that an honest civil service was essential to the purity and efficiency of administration, necessary to the preservation of republican institutions.

Offices to
the most
efficient.

Mr. Jefferson was right. The experience of eighty years has shown it. The man best fitted should be the man placed in office, especially if the appointment is made by the servants of the people. It is as true as truth can be that fidelity, capacity, honesty, are essential elements of fitness, and that the man who is most capable and most faithful and most honest is the man who is most fit, and he should be appointed to office.

These are truths that in their statement will be denied by none, and yet the best means of ascertaining that fitness has been a vexed question with every Administration of this Government and with every man who has been charged with the responsibility of its execution. We know what is the result. Pass examinations have been tried; honest endeavors have been tried; a disposition to live faithfully up to these requirements has been tried; and yet we know, and the experience of to-day shows it, that they have all made a most lamentable failure.

We do know now that so great has been the increase of the powers of this Government and the number of offices under it that no President, no Cabinet, no heads of bureaus, can by any possibility know the fitness of all applicants for the subordinate offices of this Government. The result has been, and under the existing system it must always be, that the President and his Cabinet and those who are charged with the responsibility have remitted the question of fitness to their own partisan friends, and those partisan friends have in their turn decided the question of fitness in favor of their

Offices to
partisans.

partisan friends. The Administration has need of the support of members of Congress in carrying on its work. It therefore remits to members of Congress of its own party the questions of appointment to office in the various districts. These gentlemen, in the course of their political life, naturally (I do not find fault with them for it) find themselves under strain and pressure to secure a nomination or a renomination or election, and they use the places to reward those whose friends and families and connections and aids and deputies will serve their purpose. . . .

When I came to the Senate I had occasion more than ever before to make some investigation upon this subject, and I found to my surprise the extent to which the demoralization of the service had gone. I saw the civil service debauched and demoralized. I saw offices distributed to incompetent and unworthy men as a reward for the lowest of dirty partisan work. I saw many men employed to do the work of one man. I saw the money of the people shamefully wasted to keep up electioneering funds by political assessments on salaries. I saw the whole body of the public offices paid by the people organized into a compact, disciplined corps of electioneers obeying a master as if they were eating the bread of his dependence and rendering him personal service.

Effects of
spoils
system.

I believed then, and I believe now, that the existing system which, for want of a better name, I call the "spoils system," must be killed or it will kill the Republic. I believe that it is impossible to maintain free institutions in the country upon any basis of that sort. I am no prophet of evil, I am not a pessimist in any sense of the word, but I do believe that if the present system goes on until 50,000,000 people shall have grown into 100,000,000, and 140,000 officers shall have grown into 300,000, with their compensation in proportion, and all shall depend upon the accession of one party or the other to the Presidency and to the executive functions, the Presidency of the country, if it shall last in name so long, will be put up for sale to the highest bidder, even as in Rome

the imperial crown was put up to those who could raise the largest fund.

I beg gentlemen to believe that whatever I may have said as to the relations of parties I do not approach the question of the reform of the civil service in any mere partisan spirit. It was because I thought I saw this danger, because I believed that it was imminent, because I believed then as I do now that it is destructive of republicanism and will end in the downfall of republican government, that I felt it my duty to devote whatever ability I had to the consideration of this subject. It was that which induced me a year or two ago to introduce a bill which after the best reflection, the best study, the best assistance that I could get I did introduce in the Senate, and which, in some degree modified, has come back from the Committee on Civil Service Reform, and is now pending before this body.

The purpose of this bill is merely to secure the application of the Jeffersonian tests, fidelity, honesty, capacity. The methods are those which are known and familiar to us all in the various avocations of life—competition, comparison. Perhaps the bill is imperfect. If so, I am sure I express the wish of every member of the committee that it may be improved. There is no pride of opinion, there is no determination, if suggestions of value are made not promptly to adopt them. There is no disposition to do aught except to perfect, and in the best possible way, this bill, the sole object of which is to improve this great department of our Government.

Purpose of Pendleton bill.

Mr. President, it is because I believe the "spoils system" to be a great crime, because I believe it to be fraught with danger, because I believe that the highest duty of patriotism is to prevent the crime and to avoid the danger, that I advocate this or a better bill if it can be found for the improvement of the civil service. . . .

Mr. Hawley: Mr. President, this is "a bill to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States." It is not a new subject, nor is the bill itself in its essential particulars new to the Senate or to the public. Something is to be done

Evils of spoils system.

upon this subject. Beyond all manner of question there is something to be done. The experience of this country as to the evils of the existing system, the experience of other countries in the trial of improved systems and aside from any evils that exist among us, the extraordinary growth of this country render the continuance of the present system utterly impossible. All these things combined, with a stronger and stronger manifestation of public sentiment from year to year, show, as I said, that something is to be done.

When our country began with what I may call the present system, which is a lack of system, there were 350,000 square miles of territory; there are now 4,000,000 square miles. There were 3,000,000 of people; there are now 55,000,000 of people, or will be by next June, and there has been an addition of 25 States. In 1801 there were 906 post-offices; there are now 44,848. There were 69 custom-houses; there are now 135. The revenues were less than \$3,000,000; now they are \$400,000,000. Our ministers to foreign countries were 4; they are now 33. Our consuls were 63; they are now 728. A thousand men then administered the Government; it now requires more than 100,000. . . .

Removals
of former
Presidents.

Here are some figures which have been made familiar during the discussion of this question. Washington made only nine removals, and all for cause; John Adams only nine, and none, it would seem, by reason of political cause; Jefferson only thirty-nine, and none of them, as he declared, for political reasons; Madison only five; Monroe only nine; John Quincy Adams only two, and all for cause. In general the Government was very honestly and admirably administered. . . .

Methods
of securing
appoint-
ments.

The man who is less efficient than his fellows, conscious that he has less of character or of ability, or of both, than they, is the man who is almost certain to have the largest pile of papers in support of his position. And thereby it becomes exceedingly difficult to remove him. More persons are needed for the same labor than there would be under some

ideal system, I do not say what. We can imagine that if they were appointed purely for efficiency and character and maintained for that, fewer persons—I do not pretend to say how many, because no man knows; the estimates are quite at random; some say a quarter less, some say a half—would do the work equally well.

Moreover there is unnecessary expense. The salaries must be kept higher in accordance with obvious laws of economy, because people will not enter into an uncertain service for the price they would be willing to take if they were guaranteed long continuance, or life service. A young man who comes here for one, two, three, four, or five years is very hungry indeed to get his ten, twelve, or fourteen hundred dollars a year. If he had any guarantee of long service, or of service during good behavior (and absolutely no minute longer than that), there would be an abundance of young men of capacity willing to come here and begin at six, seven, eight, or nine hundred dollars a year, trusting to a well-graded system for promotion to nine, ten, eleven, or twelve hundred dollars, as they continued in the service. Our present system is therefore, in that sense, wasteful and extravagant.

Spoils
system
more
costly.

There is another matter upon which I need not dwell in this audience, and that is the torment of the legislative branch. Senators know this well. I am happy to say I know a little less of it than some of my neighbors; but those who represent large States, especially if they are within easy reach of Washington, deserve our commiseration and should every Sunday, in the old fashion of New England, ask for the prayers of the congregation. Their desks are piled with letters, from scores upon scores, and their constituents sometimes stand in their corridors in the same proportions. How large a share and how painful a share of our troubles and anxieties are due to this matter of office-seeking, we all know too well. We are all under the necessity of hearing innumerable applications for office, of reading and preparing papers that will sustain them, of calling in person, and perhaps re-

Burdens
on legis-
lators.

peatedly, to enforce applications, of writing innumerable letters in reference to the matter; of re-enforcing the support that an employé has; or of seeking to restore those who are discharged in times of reduction or for an alleged or a real falling below the standard, or discharged perhaps to give place to a protégé of some more favored or more ardent politician.

We listen to the appeals of the utterly destitute. The widow comes here whose husband has been a long time a clerk or public servant somewhere, and it is impossible not to sympathize, it is impossible not to say that it would be reasonable, if she were well qualified, that she should have a clerkship. She has a dependent family; she has perhaps dependent relatives. You know there are scattered about these Departments many who are the children of men well-known in the public service of the United States and among whose honors it was that they went out of that service penniless, whose misfortune it was that they left dependent relatives. No man can say, "I will close my eyes and shut my ears to these appeals." He can not do it. He may put himself upon the cold ground that "it is my duty to be studying public measures, to be reading and thinking about and preparing for the great measures that concern the whole country"; but he comes up from his breakfast table and finds his room full of cases that he must at least hear.

Nor is this a matter that embarrasses one party alone. I have known gentlemen—yes, I see one now in the Chamber not a member of my own party, whom I have heard cry out against the burden, the painful labor that pained and oppressed him, and in the vexation of the moment declare that he would leave this Hall and go back to his farm and his happy home. There is something wrong about all this. This Government is not running a great charitable establishment; and yet if it is to employ people in subordinate positions you will say that equitably nobody has a better claim than a widow, or daughter, or sister, or brother of some old-time public servant whose family for many years has

been accustomed to the service of the United States, knows what it is, and can discharge the duties well; or better than the dependent relative of some faithful soldier. . . .

Every Secretary of the Treasury will tell you and every Cabinet officer in the larger Departments will tell you that for the first few months of an Administration, or the first few weeks or months of his administration if it begins in the middle of a Presidential term, he is utterly overwhelmed morning, noon, and night by applications for office, even down to the messengerships and to the appointments among the charwomen. They will not be put off. They wait during his breakfast; they catch him when he leaves his office; they follow him until his bedtime. And this is the American Republic of 55,000,000 of people, that rightly boasts of a great, free, and true, and wise government. We must quit. We have an excellent opportunity to quit it by adopting a very simple, very plain, and general bill that is proved to be practical by indisputable experience.

I do not tell Senators that if we do not do this somebody else will before long. We know that it has come to be a well-nigh universal demand of the thoughtful people of the country; it enters into nearly every political convention of any description. The demand is reiterated by every President. President Grant tried it in good faith; Mr. Hayes tried it; Garfield desired and promised it, and President Arthur has given us an admirable invitation to follow in the right path. . . .

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898

99. PORTO RICO UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG

Doctor Lyman Abbott, editor of the Outlook, in the year 1909 visited Porto Rico in order to investigate conditions there. He conversed with representative men of various classes and opinions, lawyers, judges, teachers, sugar-planters, coffee-planters, politicians of both parties, with men who were pro-American and others who were anti-American, with Catholics and with Protestants. It was his desire to get the views of the islanders themselves, and as a consequence he conferred but little with Americans.—(The Outlook, Vol. 92, pp. 451-462. June 26, 1909. Permission of The Outlook Company, New York.)

Columbus
lands on
the coast
of Porto
Rico.

Little
progress
under
Spanish
rule.

In November, 1493, Columbus landed for water at Aguidilla on the western coast of Porto Rico. A monument marks the spot where he filled his water-cans. A mile below, in the town subsequently built upon the shore of the sea, the villagers continue to this day to come night and morning to this same stream to fill their water-cans. The water-works of Aguidilla in 1909 are practically identical with those of 1493. The fact is typical. The civilization of Porto Rico, under Spanish domination, remains as nearly stationary as it is possible for civilization to remain in a progressive world. Save for one splendid military road across the island, and some fragments of incompleated roads at different points, the only means of access from the interior to the coast, or from one interior town to another, were trails traversable only on horseback, and often so narrow and precipitous as to be available only for the surefooted and specially trained ponies of the island. The sugar-mills were small and of

ancient pattern, and the sugar cultivation primitive; foreign capital feared to invest where government afforded no confident assurance against revolution. The so-called coffee plantations were fields of wild bushes, comparative to the blueberry lots in Maine, with a product of two and a half or three hundred weight to the acre, as against twice that amount in Brazil and three times that amount in Costa Rica. One regular Spanish steamer a month and an occasional and irregular steamer from France or Germany supplied all the commercial facilities that were required. Schools in the rural regions there were none; they were few and inadequate in the large towns; I believe there was not a single building erected specifically for school purposes. The Government, until nearly the close of the nineteenth century, was feudal despotism in which the people had little nominal and no effective part. The religion, that of the Spanish Roman Catholic Church, was ascetic and ceremonial. Protestant and Roman Catholic have united in assuring me that probably not over two per cent. of the population attended church. Their religious scruples were satisfied by annual or semi-annual attendance on special feast days, or on the rare occasion of a visitation to the town by the Roman Catholic bishop, when the whole population turned out to greet him, the parents bringing their children for baptism or confirmation, or coming to have a long-delayed marriage ceremony pronounced for them after a score of years of practical and entirely loyal but wholly unconventional wedlock.

Such was the condition of the island, jogging along on the whole contentedly under the domination of the most antiquated feudal government in Christendom, when it woke up one morning to find itself suddenly passed over to the control of the most modern and the most democratic of governments. How to adjust sixteenth-century habits to twentieth-century ideals is the problem which it has been given America to solve. It is a cause for self-gratulation that whatever mistakes have been made by America's offi-

From
feudalism
to democ-
racy.

Not attempting to Americanize the island.

Government of Porto Rico.

cial representatives here, they are conscientious and intelligent, and are going about the work which has been intrusted to them in a very wise fashion. They are not attempting to Americanize the island; to convert it into a Massachusetts, a South Carolina, or a Colorado. They are giving to the islanders what our ancestors gave to us—just laws justly administered, a free press, free speech, free schools, and free religion—and are leaving the islanders, under temporary guidance and lessening restraint, but with very considerable financial assistance, to work out their own self-development as we have worked out ours.

The Government may be briefly described, as to its general features, in a paragraph. The chief executive of the island is a Governor-General appointed by the President. There is an Executive Council of eleven, five of whom are required by law to be Porto Ricans, six of whom are in fact Americans. These six are also the heads of the chief executive departments. This body is also the Senate. There is a House of Delegates, elected by universal suffrage, which corresponds to our House of Representatives. There can be no legislation without the approval of both these bodies. No legislation, therefore, is possible without the approval of the Porto Ricans, as represented by their elected House and the approval of at least one American in the appointed Executive Council.

What have been the results of ten years of American occupation under this system of government? And what do the Porto Ricans themselves think of these results? . . .

Porto Rico prosperous under American rule.

That the islanders are in a more prosperous condition than they have ever been under Spanish rule was the testimony of every one with whom I talked; there was not a single exception. . . . The old-time sugar-mills have been supplanted by those of newer and better construction, one of them being said to be the largest sugar-mill in the world. The one monthly Spanish steamer has been replaced by fourteen monthly American steamers. In some agricultural sections land has risen in value from ten to one hundred

dollars an acre; in the vicinity of San Juan the increase has been much greater; nowhere have land values fallen. Wages have generally increased. Roads have been built in every part of the island, so that now there is no township that has not a good automobile road to the sea, and in a few years all the towns will be similarly connected with each other. Bridges are gradually taking the place of fords and ferries, which rains not infrequently made unusable. Wherever the road has gone the cost of transportation has been materially decreased, in one specific instance from a former charge of a dollar a hundredweight to twenty-five cents or less. Along these roads civilization finds its way, so that as one observant resident informed me, a year after a road is opened any one can see the improvement in sanitary conditions, bodily health, character and quality of clothing, and largeness and cheerfulness of life. Every town has its graded school, with school buildings which architecturally might well serve as a suggestion for some of our town school boards; and rural, or, as we should say, district, schools are being rapidly multiplied throughout the country; while provision for teachers to carry on the work of education is made by a well-housed and well-organized normal school. An army surgeon, Dr. B. K. Ashford, has discovered not only the cause of the anæmia which was the scourge of the islanders, and which previous authorities had erroneously attributed to insufficient food, but also a cure for it. Two hundred and fifty thousand cases have been successfully treated, and under the new law, if I understand its terms aright, every municipality will be provided with a hospital with some means of local treatment for the sufferers, and every school will be required to give some instruction respecting sanitary habits necessary to stamp out this disease effectually and finally. An engineer from the Rocky Mountains has been brought to the island, and under his supervision, aided by a corps of American engineers, surveys are being conducted and plans perfected for an American irrigation scheme, which promises to relieve the sugar lands on the southern side of the island

Education.

Hygienic
advance.

Irrigation.

Federal
aid.

from the periodic droughts with which sugar cultivation has now to contend. And the reader should remember, what I think the Porto Rican sometimes forgets, that the expense of building these roads, of this medical service, of this irrigation plant, and for the most part of these schools, is paid out of the Federal, not out of the local taxes.

No anti-
American
feeling.

I had heard that there was a strong anti-American feeling in the island, but I could not discover any signs of it. Those with whom I conversed either denied its existence or attributed it to others who in turn denied it. . . .

Desire for
self-gov-
ernment.

But there is practically unanimous feeling among all classes in Porto Rico for self-government. This is not due to any sense of practical injustice suffered under the present administration. I asked two Spanish judges their opinion respecting American law and American procedure. They both affirmed that the change from Spanish to Anglo-Saxon criminal law had resulted in better opportunity for self-defense to the accused and greater expedition in trial. I asked one prominent Republican, "What can America do that she has not done?" His prompt reply was, "Give us American citizenship." I asked one of the prominent Unistas the same question. In response he laid no emphasis on citizenship, but called for a Senate elected by limited suffrage, not appointed by the President; but he also had no legislation to suggest from such an elected Senate. . . .

One American put the Porto Rican view before me clearly and tersely in a parable. "When I was a boy," he said, "I knew that my father could make a better kite than I could make and could fly it better, but I wanted to make and fly my own kite." It seemed to me unfortunate that there was no one to explain to the Porto Ricans that they did make and fly their own kite; that all that the Americans asked was some voice in determining how a kite should be made and managed, the materials for which were furnished out of the Federal treasury. . . .

Repub-
lican
demands.

The Republicanos are eager for immediate citizenship, desire a continuance of the present form of government.

with a large representation of the Porto Ricans in the Executive Council, and look forward to eventual Statehood. The Unistas are only mildly desirous of citizenship, are urgent for an elective Senate, and look forward to autonomy under an American Governor-General in a relation analogous to that of Canada to Great Britain. If this describes correctly the tendencies of the two parties, as I think it does, I should be a Unista if I lived in Porto Rico. . . .

The
Unistas.

The Porto Rican planter, merchant, or professional man is a gentleman of education, social culture, and practical ability. His home is unpretentious in its exterior, but within is furnished with every comfort. In social intercourse he furnishes an example of old-time courtesy from which modern Americans might well learn a lesson. He is a shrewd and successful business man. . . . These Porto Rican gentlemen invariably live in the towns. I do not think we saw in our eleven days and two or three hundred miles of automobiling anything that could be called a country residence of the better class, except possibly in the immediate suburbs of San Juan or Ponce.

Porto
Ricans of
educated
class.

The peasant class is uneducated, ignorant, superstitious, good-natured, fixed in habits of life which it is extremely difficult to alter, temperate—I did not see a drunken man on the island—unsanitary through ignorance, but neither ragged nor dirty. Men, women, and children are characteristically industrious. . . .

The peas-
ant class.

In a land where any man can build an adequate house in a month, where fuel is needed only for cooking and not much of it for that, where meat is not in great demand and fruit can be had for the picking, and where tailors' and dress-makers' bills are reduced to a minimum outside a small circle in the larger towns, fifty cents a day probably constitutes as comfortable a wage as does a dollar and a half in our more exacting and inhospitable climate. . . .

Fruitful-
ness of the
land.

But I cannot close this article without expressing my admiration for the Americans who have gone to Porto Rico as representatives of the American people to give to the Porto

Progress
due to
American
leaders.

Ricans just and equal laws, sanitary and economic advantages, popular education, and liberty founded thereon. I wonder when I see what they have already accomplished in so short a time. I am stirred to indignation when I read in American newspapers political diatribes that accuse them and the Nation which they represent of imperialistic spirit and tendencies. And I tender to them my sincere admiration for the courage, patience and ability with which they are carrying on the work of educating a community in the difficult and unaccustomed art of self-government. . . .

CHAPTER XXX

THE OPENING OF A NEW ERA

100. THE DIPLOMACY OF JOHN HAY

(The Outlook, Vol. 73, p. 271, February 7, 1913. With the permission of the publishers.)

In 1898 the American Ambassador to England relinquished his duties there, having, in the words of one of the greatest English statesmen of our day, accomplished twice as much during two years as had any other American envoy during a longer tenure of office. Colonel John Hay left London to accept promotion to the Secretaryship of State. The American-Spanish War had just come to an end. Our relations with England were scarcely closer than they are now with Germany. Despite Manila, our title to position as a world power was not yet conceded in Europe. In China, for instance, we played a part far below England's. The settlement of various and complicated issues after the war constituted a difficult task for our State Department; but the settlement was made with credit.

John Hay, ambassador to Great Britain.

Becomes secretary of state.

In 1899 occurred the outbreak of the Boer War. To the world one principal result of that war was secured by the American State Department in persuading England to accept a general declaration that foodstuffs, though in transit to an enemy's ports, were not contraband of war unless there were evidence that the food was intended for the enemy's military use. Up to this time, as it had suited her convenience, England had ranged herself on both sides of the question. Not only were American rights upheld by this decision, but

American diplomacy during the Boer War.

in the future the weakest country, though at war with England herself, the greatest sea power, may invoke justice by this guarantee of good faith.

The "open door" in China.

In the beginning of 1900 our State Department won for the world that which England had long been trying to obtain from Russia, France, and Germany—the open door in China. Henceforth, whether territorial integrity be preserved or not, it is agreed among the Powers trading with China that Chinese ports shall remain open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations. The joint agreement of the Powers, obtained at our instance, is justly regarded by the American Government as having all the solemnity of a treaty.

American intervention and the Boxer uprising.

Later in 1900 occurred the Boxer Rebellion in China. If it had not been for American intervention, the chief result to the world of that rebellion would have been the partitioning of the Flowery Kingdom among the Powers. As an American Secretary of State had insured Chinese commercial integrity, so now he sought to preserve territorial integrity, despite sneers from every chancellery in Europe; the Chinese Government was treated by us, during the entire period of Boxer atrocities and the following siege of Peking, as a real government. The encouraging result, not only to China, but to all civilization, was apparent as soon as the smoke of battle had cleared away. Our task was by no means accomplished, however. During the international discussion which followed, it was necessary for us to protest against and to put an end to the secret agreements which Russia was trying to impose upon a prostrate people. Following this, in disapproval of the allies' outrageous punitive expeditions, the State Department advised the Administration to withdraw from China all United States troops, with the exception of the Legation guard. So little did supposedly intelligent European authorities understand this that the London "Spectator" actually described our course as "timid and vacillating," and the "Journal de Genève" "mourned the loss to America of her influence in the concert of the Powers."

Next, though opposed by all the Allies, who were urging a policy of unwarranted delay, the American Department of State secured the evacuation of China on the terms of the original protocol. Finally, there remains to the Department the hard task of inducing tolerate treatment in the matter of the Chinese indemnity.

Hay
secures
the evacu-
ation of
China by
the allies.

The Department's other notable recent efforts have been in the advancement of the cause of international arbitration, first at The Hague Congress and then before The Hague Tribunal; the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, supplanting the outworn and outgrown Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; the representation to the Roumanian Government concerning its treatment of the Jews; the negotiation of reciprocity treaties with Cuba and Newfoundland and the Panama Canal treaty with Colombia; finally, the Hay-Herbert Treaty looking towards the settlement of the Alaskan question, the last of the great points of divergence between America and England.

Secretary
Hay and
interna-
tional
arbitra-
tion.

At the dinner of the Ohio Society in New York City the other evening, one of the speakers declared that Mr. Hay's name would stand in history alongside Webster's and Clay's, in view of services rendered to the legitimate enhancement of American power by an American Secretary of State. The steadiness with which our present Secretary has adhered to an unselfish policy, the candor, frankness, straightforwardness, above all, the scrupulous "squareness," of his methods, are in welcome contrast to the selfishness, secrecy, indirection, delay, and, wherever possible, the harshness of other methods. If America has become a world power, it is largely because of the success of the new American diplomacy, representing not so much material as ideal aims and ends. Humanity in general is freer and finer because such diplomacy exists.

The place
of John
Hay
among
American
diplomats.

101. PRESERVING THE WORLD'S PEACE

In response to the resolution adopted at St. Louis by the Interparliamentary Union, President Roosevelt, on October 20, 1904, invited the nations which had taken part in the First Hague Conference to send delegates to another conference at the same place. During the summer of 1905, Emperor Nicholas II of Russia also issued an invitation to fifty-three nations to send representatives to such a conference.

The Second Hague Conference met during the summer of 1907. Delegates from the United States were instructed to favor obligatory arbitration; the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration; immunity from seizure of private property at sea; a clearer definition of the rights of neutrals, and the limitation of armaments. Before the end of the year 1908, one hundred and thirty-five arbitration treaties had been concluded. The United States was a party to twelve of these treaties. Most of the treaties bind the signatory powers to submit to The Hague Tribunal all differences in so far as they do not affect "the independence, the honor, the vital interests, or the exercise of sovereignty of the contracting countries, and provided it has been impossible to obtain an amicable solution by means of direct diplomatic negotiations or by any other method of conciliation."

The following account of The Hague Tribunal was written by Charles Ray Dean.—(The World's Work, Vol. IX, 5928 *passim*. With the permission of Doubleday & Page, publishers.)

"The Nations have a great need for peace." This sentiment of Baron de Staël expressed in his opening address as president of the first Peace Conference at the Hague has become doubly true now; and as evidence of the fact, President Roosevelt has made overtures to the governments of all the civilized nations for a Second Peace Conference. This action was taken at the instance of delegates from the parliaments of all the principal nations, and probably the most representative body that ever assembled—the Interparliamentary Union. So far as is known, sixteen governments have signified their acceptance. It is hoped, therefore, that a conference of the nations will soon be held which will mark a decided step towards establishing and maintaining peace. It is probable that the scope and jurisdiction of the Permanent

Perma-
nent
arbitra-
tion
tribunal.

Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague will be considered, and widened, so that it may become still more effective and may more fully accomplish the high object for which it was created, though it has done excellent service since its inception.

This Tribunal is undoubtedly the most august tribunal on earth; for before it the nations of the world voluntarily come to judgment. Its judges are among the most enlightened and distinguished of living jurists and statesmen, chosen by the heads of their respective governments because of their reputations for profound learning, probity and high moral character. And the court itself was created at the Peace Conference of 1899 by representatives of twenty-six of the leading governments representing more than 90 per cent. of the population, and practically all of the wealth, influence and civilization of the world.

It was formed July 29, 1899. The countries represented were the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and Bulgaria.

An international court of arbitration has been the dream of broad-minded and peace-loving men for more than a century. As early as 1838 there was a popular agitation in the United States in favor of calling a congress to consider the establishment of one. In 1872, Mr. Sumner introduced in the Senate a resolution proposing one—to be clothed with such authority as to make it a complete substitute for war. In 1889 the idea took definite form. In that year the United States Government called a conference of representatives from the States of North and South America to discuss arbitration. Nothing practical resulted except that the proceedings furnished valuable information. At The Hague Conference, called by the Czar in 1899, arbitration was the eighth and last topic in the programme of discussion, and was couched in these very general terms:

Nature of
tribunal.

Perma-
nent
arbitra-
tion
tribunal
long
thought
of.

"8. Acceptance, in principle, of the use of good offices, mediation, and voluntary arbitration, in cases where they are available, with the purpose of preventing armed conflicts between nations; understanding in relation to their mode of application and establishment of a uniform practice in employing them."

The comprehensive instructions issued by Secretary Hay to our delegates enjoined them to propose a plan (which was furnished them with instructions) for an international tribunal and to use their influence to procure its adoption.

Nature
of court.

The general plan of the tribunal follows a common-law model, indicating Anglo-Saxon influences. The court resembles somewhat the Supreme Court of the State of New York, the members of which never sit all together, but singly, or in groups, as the occasion may demand. All the Governments which originally signed The Hague Convention, and all those who shall adhere to it, are entitled to appoint four members of the permanent court. The American members of the permanent court are Chief Justice Fuller, Hon. John W. Griggs, Hon. George Gray and Hon. Oscar S. Straus. Twenty-two governments have appointed representatives, though in some cases less than four. China, Turkey, Montenegro and Persia are without representation. The court, therefore, has, at the present time, a permanent bench of seventy-two judges, from whom are chosen one or more arbitrators who sit as a court in each particular case.

Adminis-
tration
council.

The arbitrators are appointed for six years, and may be reappointed. There are no salaries, but a liberal honorarium is paid to the arbitrators serving by the parties in a case. An administrative council, composed of the several diplomatic representatives at The Hague has general charge of the central office (known as the International Bureau). This council has the power and the machinery for setting the court in action. The council is presided over by the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs. Baron R. Melvil de Lynden is the present incumbent.

The only officers of the court are the Secretary-General of

the Tribunal, corresponding somewhat to our clerk of the court, and an assistant. The President, when the court enters, makes in French the simple announcement (all present standing), "Gentlemen, the court is open," and the business proceeds. The members of the court appear in ordinary conventional dress. French is the language usually employed in the proceedings of the court, unless a different one is stipulated by the parties to a case.

Officers of
the court.

No case can be brought before the court at the instance of one government of its own motion against another. Both parties must agree to submit the case. Arbitrators are chosen according to a preliminary agreement between the parties, generally called a protocol. This protocol defines, among other things, the subject of the controversy and the extent of the powers of the arbitrators. Where there are three or more arbitrators, they choose one of their number to act as president, or umpire. A sovereign or the head of a State may act as sole arbitrator. Each side submits its case, or brief, with copies of all documents relied upon to prove its contentions. After a reasonable time counter-cases are filed by each side. Oral argument then follows.

Origin of
case in the
court.

The jurisdiction of the Tribunal, as fixed by The Hague Convention, is confined to legal questions and especially to those involving treaties. But in the convention is a recommendation to the powers having international differences involving neither honor nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on points of fact, that they institute an International Commission of Inquiry to facilitate a solution of these differences.

Jurisdic-
tion of
tribunal.

The Tribunal is simple. Its present domicile is not one of the listed "show places" at The Hague. Its location, even its existence, is hardly known to the average citizen. The hotel, as it is called, of the permanent court is on a comparatively retired residence street, No. 71 Prinsegracht. It is merely a spacious dwelling-house, with no outward sign of its inward greatness. . . .

Place of
meeting.

Some day the Tribunal will move into a Temple of Peace,

for which Mr. Andrew Carnegie has donated \$1,500,000. This money has been in the hands of the Netherlands Government for almost two years. A commission has been appointed to select a site and to arrange for international competition among architects for the building. A site has recently been secured, but no plans for a building have been submitted. The commission, however, has been securing from the several governments suggestions as to the general arrangement and probable requirements of a suitable building. This extreme deliberation is characteristic of the people of the Netherlands, who move slowly but certainly. It should not, however, be attributed to indifference to the generosity of Mr. Carnegie, but may have been caused in some measure by difficulties in adjusting differences of opinion between the national and the local authorities as to its location.

The United States Government has, on every proper occasion, suggested, and urged resort to the Tribunal. But the docket of the court has not been overrun with cases. Only two controversies have actually been tried. Both of them were of American origin and were taken to The Hague through the efforts of the United States.

The first involved a difference between the United States and Mexico—the case of the “Pious Fund of the Californias.” The government of Mexico had refused to continue paying interest on the Pious Fund—a fund created a century or more ago for the support of the missions of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper and Lower California. The Mexican Government had sold and converted into a trust fund property originally donated to the church for missionary purposes. It had for many years paid interest to the church, but finally stopped paying. The case was argued at The Hague. The award was in favor of the United States. Every material claim made was allowed.

The second case was the Venezuelan Preferential Treatment Case. Great Britain, Germany and Italy, known as the “Allies,” had tried to enforce, by warlike measures, the collection of certain claims of their subjects against Venez-

uela. By bombarding her forts, sinking her ships and blockading her ports, these nations had compelled Venezuela to agree to set aside a certain fund to pay all the claims held by foreigners against her, when the amounts had been fixed by commissions chosen for that purpose. The citizens of eight other nations, however, had claims against Venezuela. These nations had not resorted to force to secure a settlement, though their claims were as just as those of the allies. There arose, therefore, a question whether, as claimed by them, the three allies were entitled to have their claims paid first out of the fund provided by Venezuela, by reason of the fact that they had, by their vigorous and forcible action, brought Venezuela to terms.

Great Britain, Germany and Italy, on one side, were pitted against the United States, France, Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden and Norway on the other. It was the first case submitted to the Tribunal by the assent of a majority of the European Powers. Twenty-two men, all eminent in their several countries and many of them with international reputations as jurists, statesmen and diplomats, appeared as counsel. The counsel for the United States were Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, formerly Attorney-General of the United States, Hon. William T. Penfield, Solicitor of the Department of State, and Hon. Herbert W. Bowen, United States Minister to Venezuela. The court, consisting of three arbitrators selected by the Czar of Russia by the agreement of the parties, was made up of two representatives from Russia and one from Austria-Hungary, Count Muravieff, M. de Martens and M. Tammersch—all profoundly versed in international law and jurisprudence. Arguments were made in four languages—English (which was the official language of the court in the case), French, German and Spanish. Translations into English were furnished by the parties. . . .

One of the effects which the delegates to The Hague Conference hoped might flow from the establishment of the Tribunal was the building up of a body of international law

The tribunal and growth of international law.

growing out of the decisions handed down by the Tribunal. So far, the judgments, or sentences, as they are called, have not materially added to the principles of international law. This is due in part to the nature of the cases themselves.

The Pious Fund decision places the findings of tribunals of arbitration on the same plane with judgments of tribunals created by States. This has a tendency to strengthen the general principle of arbitration.

In the Venezuelan Preferential Treatment case the Tribunal decided that the three allied Powers which resorted to war against Venezuela were entitled to a preference over the creditor nations that refrained from force.

The Tribunal has not yet met the hopes of its many friends. Some of the governments have shown a disposition to avoid referring their differences to it. But, during the four years of its existence a remarkable forward movement has taken place in the thought of the peoples of the world, so that the advantages of international arbitration are now more generally evident. Each year great national and international peace conferences stimulate and increase a public sentiment in favor of arbitration as a means of preserving peace. A new and brighter day is dawning for this Tribunal. The Hague Convention of 1899, which created the Tribunal, has been a dayspring from which has emanated an astonishing number of treaties providing for the reference of certain international differences to the Tribunal.

Beginning in October, 1903, Great Britain and France signed a treaty binding themselves for a period of five years to refer "differences . . . of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties," to The Hague Tribunal, "provided they do not affect the vital interests, the independence or the honor" of the two States, and "do not concern the interests of third parties." There has followed this a series of practically identical agreements between Great Britain and Italy, Great Britain and Spain, France and Italy, France and the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal, the Netherlands and Portugal, Denmark and the Nether-

International
agreements to
submit differ-
ences to the
Tribunal.

lands. And our own government, following the same lead, is negotiating similar treaties with all of the twenty-six governments which are signatories to The Hague Convention. It is also understood that Great Britain and France are similarly engaged.

With this striking showing, it seems certain that this Tribunal bids fair to realize the noble object of its creation—the advancement of the cause of peace, and “the establishment of the principle of justice and right upon which repose the security of states and the welfare of peoples.”

102. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH AMERICAN STATES

On July 23, 1906, the third International Conference of American Republics met in Rio de Janeiro and continued in session until August 29. Besides the regular delegates, Secretary of State Elihu Root was present at the opening session. His address at this meeting, together with his visit to the leading cities, served to inaugurate a new understanding between these countries and the United States. The true American policy was set forth by Secretary Root in the following toast: “May the independence, the freedom, and the rights of the least and the weakest be ever respected equally with the rights of the strongest, and may we all do our share toward the building up of a sound and enlightened public opinion of the Americas which shall everywhere, upon both continents, mightily promote the reign of peace, of order, and of justice in every American republic.” Secretary Root went to South America as “Ambassador Extraordinary representing the President of the United States.” In order to emphasize his official position, he travelled on an American war-ship. His addresses, made in the various cities, were intended to be an official declaration from the government of the United States, and that position was outlined in his formal address before the Congress.—(Speeches Incident to the Visit of Secretary Root to South America, July 4 to September 30, 1906. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. 3 *passim*. Speech of His Excellency Joaquin Nabuco, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the United States of Brazil to the United States of America, President of the Conference.)

. . . I believe that you and the Conference understand each other fully. The periodical meeting of this body, ex-

American
separation
from
Europe.

clusively composed of American nations, assuredly means that America forms a political system separate from that of Europe—a constellation with its own distinct orbit.

The
Americas
a unit.

By aiming, however, at a common civilization and by trying to make of the space we occupy on the globe a vast neutral zone of peace, we are working for the benefit of the whole world. In this way we offer to the population, to the wealth, and to the genius of Europe a much wider and safer field of action in our hemisphere than if we formed a disunited continent, or if we belonged to the belligerent camps into which the Old World may become divided. One point especially will be of great interest for you, who so heartily desire the success of this work. The Conference is convinced that its mission is not to force any nation belonging to it to do anything she would not be freely prepared to do upon her own initiative; we all recognize that its sole function is to impart our collective sanction to what has already become unanimous in the opinion of the whole continent.

First
foreign
visit of
Secretary
of State.

This is the first time, sir, that an American Secretary of State officially visits a foreign nation, and we all feel happy that that first visit was to Latin America. You will find everywhere the same admiration for your great country, whose influence in the advance of moral culture, of political liberty, and of international law has begun already to counterbalance that of the rest of the world. Mingled with that admiration you will also find the sentiment that you could not rise without raising with you our whole continent; that in everything you achieve we shall have our share of progress. . . .

You are now exploring political seas never navigated before, lands not yet revealed to the genius of your statesmen and towards which they were attracted, as we are all attracted one to another, by an irresistible continental gravitation. We feel certain, however, that at the end of your long journey you will feel that, in their ideals and in their hearts, the American Republics form already a great political unit in the world.

Mr. Root: I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sisters in the civilization of America.

Unlike as we are in many respects, we are alike in this, that we are all engaged under new conditions, and free from the traditional forms and limitations of the Old World in working out the same problem of popular self-government.

Similar problems.

It is a difficult and laborious task for each of us. Not in one generation or in one century can the effective control of a superior sovereign, so long deemed necessary to government, be rejected and effective self-control by the governed be perfected in its place. The first fruits of democracy are many of them crude and unlovely; its mistakes are many, its partial failures many, its sins not few. Capacity for self-government does not come to man by nature. It is an art to be learned, and it is also an expression of character to be developed among all the thousands of men who exercise popular sovereignty. . . .

Many mistakes in first democracies.

Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone but the whole civilized world is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our great undertaking the hope of humanity depends.

Growth of government by the people.

Nor can we fail to see that the world makes substantial progress towards more perfect popular self-government.

I believe it to be true that, viewed against the background of conditions a century, a generation, a decade ago, government in my own country has advanced, in the intelligent participation of the great mass of the people, in the fidelity and honesty with which they are represented, in respect for law, in obedience to the dictates of a sound morality, and in effectiveness and purity of administration.

Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wrack of Indian fighting and race conflicts and civil wars, strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the

Development of stable governments in Latin American States.

people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dignity, its honor, has risen above partizanship for individual leaders. The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. Property is protected and the fruits of enterprise are secure. Individual liberty is respected. Continuous public policies are followed; national faith is held sacred. Progress has not been equal everywhere, but there has been progress everywhere. The movement in the right direction is general. The right tendency is not exceptional; it is continental. The present affords just cause for satisfaction; the future is bright with hope.

No
nation
isolated.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished, or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. . . .

American
ideal.

. . . We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

The
Hague
Congress.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents

can be and I hope will be represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies; so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct, and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all. . . .

103. THE RICH KINGDOM OF COTTON

The economic advancement of the South during the past one-third of a century has been wonderful. The annual value of the cotton crop alone equals about twice the yearly output of all the gold-mines in the world. Some eight million bales are exported annually. Its export value is one-half that of all other agricultural products.

The following narrative states some of the conditions connected with the rapid increase of prosperity in the South and the relation of cotton culture thereto.—(Clarence H. Poe, *The Rich Kingdom of Cotton*, in *The World's Work*, Vol. IX, pp. 5488 *passim*. With permission of the publishers, Messrs. Doubleday, Page & Co.)

No plant, unless it be wheat, is of so much importance to the human race as cotton. Destroy any fruit in the world, and men would grow other fruits. Let any tree become

Importance of cotton.

extinct, and other trees will take its place, and our building would go on as before. Even if either corn or wheat should grow no more, we could grow enough of the other, supplemented by rice, oats, barley, rye, peas, beans, and the like, to feed both man and beast with comfort. But for cotton there is no substitute that can be cultivated cheaply on a large scale—no substitute, animal or vegetable product, which can compare with it for cheapness.

Nor is there any plant with a history more marvellous or more romantic—more suggestive of the legend and mythology of the Orient from whence it came. If Frank Norris had lived in the South instead of in California, what an Epic of Cotton he might have given us! Cotton, whose influence did most to bring us an alien race from Africa, and then did most to perpetuate in America the institution of slavery; Cotton, on which a “Dixie Land, the Land of Cotton,” once built its hopes, while it waged a great war; Cotton, which helped the vanquished people to their feet again, and now bids fair to restore them to the proud position in wealth and industry which they held before the Civil War.

Value of
cotton.

It is hardly too much to say that cotton is now the basis of the dominant industry of the world. In their primary forms, iron and steel products represent a value of only \$1,700,000,000 yearly, while the estimated value of the world's annual output of cotton goods is \$2,000,000,000. Twice as much cotton as wool is produced, and three-fourths of the world's cotton supply is grown in the southern section of the United States. Twice the world's total gold product of last year would have been required to pay southern farmers for lint and seed; three-fourths of the capital stock of all the national banks in the country would have been inadequate. Among our American export crops, cotton towers pre-eminent with \$350,000,000 in value for the year ending June 30, 1903 (1904 would make a better showing), against less than \$600,000,000 for all other agricultural exports. In other words, take all other animal and vegetable products exported any year—wheat, corn, barley, oats, rye, flour,

meal, oatmeal, fruits, vegetables, liquors, tobacco, wine; cattle, hogs, horses, sheep; beef, pork, mutton; butter, cheese, canned goods, lard, oils, wool; timber, lumber, naval stores, etc.—the entire contribution, except cotton, furnished the outside world by every American farm, ranch and forest, from Maine to California, from Michigan to Texas, from Alaska to Hawaii—take all this, and, with the proceeds of one year's cotton and cotton-seed exports, and a safe mortgage given on the next year's, the southern cotton-grower could buy the whole colossal aggregation and still have a surplus of more than \$100,000,000 left as pin-money and as a margin of safety for the mortgage.

For, much as cotton means to the United States, and much as it means to the world, it means infinitely more to the twelve States and Territories of the South, in ten of which it is the chief farm product. Here cotton is the life-blood of commerce, its condition the thermometer of trade. Every man talks cotton; every man has an opinion about the size of the crop; the weather conditions in Texas and throughout the Cotton Belt are subjects of general interest; the government crop report is read with closer attention than anything else in the newspapers. Well and truthfully did Henry W. Grady say in his tribute to the cotton plant:

**The
South and
cotton.**

“The sun that shines on it is tempered by the prayers of all the people. The shower that falls whispering on its leaves is heard around the world. The frost that chills it and the dew that descends from the stars are noted, and the trespass of a little worm on its green leaf is more to England than the advance of the Russian army on her Asian posts.”

When cotton prices drop, every southern man feels the blow; when cotton prices advance, every industry throbs with new vigor. For the last five crops the South has received nearly \$800,000,000 more than for the preceding five crops, nearly twice as much money as is invested in all our American cotton mills. For the crop of 1903 alone she received \$325,000,000 more than for the crop of 1898—a sum which, if equally divided, would give a surplus of \$225 to

each of the 1,418,000 farms growing cotton, or \$20 each to every one of the 16,000,000 inhabitants of the Cotton States. Small wonder that southern railways report heavier increase in earnings than lines in any other section of the country. Small wonder that the assessed valuation of southern property is now increasing three times as rapidly as in the decade 1890-1900. Small wonder that bank deposits in the southern States from 1896 to 1903 increased one hundred and fifty-three per cent., while the increase for the rest of the United States was only ninety per cent.; and a preliminary statement which the Comptroller of the Currency has just sent me, shows that the increase during the last twelve months has been more than two and one-half times as rapid in the South as in the rest of the country.

The new
South.

It is, in fact, a new South that we have. The factory, the bank, the church, the school, the newspaper—all are benefited by the increase in prices paid for the South's great staple crop. The architect will tell you that he is building better houses than ever before; the furniture dealer will tell you that he is shipping more furniture than ever before; the manufacturer of implements and machinery will acknowledge that southern progress astounds him; the schools report greatly increasing numbers of pupils; and even the preacher says that, for once, his salary is paid promptly and in full, and that a sermon on foreign missions is now unprecedentedly effective.

The social changes that prosperity will bring will remodel southern life. It will restore the country life again to its dignified place of the old time. For years, the countryman has been in the townsman's debt. Now the farmer has money to lend. This will, in time, bring a complete social change.

"If cotton brings about ten cents for the next ten years," said a thoughtful business man in North Carolina to me the other day, "the South will again become, as it was before the war, the most prosperous section of our country. I know of no industry in the world that will yield larger returns, in

proportion to the capital and the intelligence required, than cotton-growing at ten cents a pound."

And the price bids fair to remain at the 10-cent mark. Excepting the two periods, 1840-50 and 1891-1901, it has never been less. If a 5,000,000-bale crop, in 1859, was marketed at 11 cents, why should not a 12,000,000-bale crop now bring 10 cents? With the increased demand for labor from railways and factories, there is now little prospect of pushing the production beyond 12,000,000 bales.

But before we begin a discussion of the larger cotton problems, it may be well to follow briefly the story of a cotton plant.

Cotton is planted throughout the South just as soon as danger of frost passes, this time varying from March 10th in Texas and Louisiana to May 1st in North Carolina. Except in Texas, the guano bill is enormous, commercial fertilizers costing North Carolina cotton growers alone nearly \$5,000,000 each season. Of late years there has been more improvement in methods of planting than in any other phase of cotton farming. Formerly, one man and one horse opened the furrow; another man strewed the fertilizer; another man dropped the seeds; and another man with a horse covered them. Now one machine, with one man and one horse, does all this work at once. A few days after planting, the long green line of two-leaved plants in each row begins its battle with grass—a long, thin line, for the cotton seeds are dropped only one inch apart, though later the plants are thinned out so as to stand 12 inches apart. Cotton begins to bloom when the plant is from five to eight weeks old—beautiful white blooms the first day, pink the next, and the third day comes the tiny green boll. Opening gradually, the boll shows four or five distinct lobes of cotton. Picking or harvesting begins in August in Texas and in September in the latitude of North Carolina. This work must be done entirely by hand labor, just as it was done in India a thousand years ago. In this part of the South, from 40 to 50 cents per hundred-weight is paid for picking, while in Texas

Growing
cotton.

as much as one dollar is sometimes paid. At seventy-five cents per hundred-weight of seed cotton—two-thirds of the weight being seed and one-third lint or fibre—the cost of picking is $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound of lint, and this, a few years ago, was more than one-third the selling price. Now, however, the seeds sell for enough to pay the entire expense of picking. . . .

Kinds of
farming.

Of the farms in the ten Cotton States, in 1900, 48 per cent. were worked by owners, 20 per cent. by cash tenants, and 31 per cent. by share tenants—showing a decrease for the decade of 15 per cent. in the percentage of farms managed by owners, a gain of 12 per cent. in the proportion worked by share tenants, and a gain of 33 per cent. in the percentage operated by cash tenants. Of share tenants there are several classes. Some rent land only, paying therefor one-fourth of the farm product; others, with land, stock, tools, and one-half of the fertilizer furnished, receive one-half the crop; while still others are content to give labor only for one-third of the yield.

The relative decrease in the number of farms worked by owners during the last census decade must be attributed to the emigration of farm-owners to towns, as a result of the depression in cotton prices. With the turn of the tide in prices, one now finds abundant evidence of a similar turn in the tide of emigration. Young men of executive ability cannot overlook the new opportunities for money-making in cotton growing, and many will endeavor to revive the old plantation system of farming. On the other hand, farm lands have as yet advanced but little in value in proportion to their increased earning capacity, and many small farmers and tenants are seizing the opportunity to buy. "I can take any farm in my county and pay for it with two cotton crops," says a member of the North Carolina Board of Agriculture; and one farmer within a few miles of the writer's home has paid for his farm with one year's product; though this, of course, must have been done at a sacrifice of all home comforts. Under these conditions, the proportion of tenants is

likely to decrease during this decade, and the proportion of farms worked by owners—now 19 per cent. for negroes and 58 per cent. for whites—to be correspondingly increased. Tenants will buy land, and non-resident owners will return and conduct their own estates.

One of the largest cotton farms in North Carolina is owned by Crossland & Everett, in Richmond County. This is conducted by share tenants, who furnish labor, pay one-half the cost of the fertilizer, and receive one-half the crop.

A typical farm.

"Two-thirds of our croppers are white men with their families as labor," Mr. Everett tells me. "We make it a point to secure tenants who have families of boys, thereby having labor under their control. We specify in our agreement with tenants that the crop is to be planted, worked, and gathered under our direction. We stipulate also the amount of supplies they are to have each month, being careful that they do not consume as much as their labor is worth, thereby causing them to feel that, if they fail to comply with their contracts, they will be the losers. Thus they have an interest in the crop in excess of the advances made. We provide our croppers with comfortable houses; allow them to have garden, potato, and other vegetable crops for the use of their families; encourage them to keep cows, pigs, etc.; and thus have them feel that they are at home. Last year, they cleared, after paying all their crop expenses, from \$100 to \$200 to the horse; hence they are contented and work well. We have a good school, and the children, when not in the farm work, are in school from three to six months in the year. We have churches also, and they attend services and Sunday school regularly."

Messrs. Crossland & Everett have kept accurate farm accounts for the past fourteen years, and the story told by their books shows the profit of cotton growing on ordinary farm land. Estimating the value of a good one-horse farm, with improvements, \$1,000, the following is the average yearly expense as they find it:

Six per cent. interest on farm value, per year.....	\$60.00
Taxes on same.....	10.00
Wear and tear of mule.....	15.00
Interest on value of mule.....	10.00
One-half cost of fertilizer.....	110.00
Tools, and keeping same in repair.....	15.00
Repairs on building, etc.....	10.00
Share of Superintendent's expense.....	25.00
Ginning one-half of cotton.....	13.00
Total.....	<u>\$268.00</u>

To offset this, Messrs. Crossland & Everett find that the average production of cotton on each one-horse farm during the last fourteen years has been 6,850 pounds of lint, and the average price $7\frac{3}{4}$ cents. They receive one-half the crop; therefore, against expense of \$268, including 6 per cent. interest, they have had—

3,425 pounds of lint @ $7\frac{3}{4}$ cents.....	\$265.43
One-half value of seed.....	62.57
Total.....	<u>\$328.00</u>

This shows a profit of twelve per cent. for the last fourteen years. Suppose, however, that cotton had averaged 10 cents per pound. Then we should have more than 19 per cent. on the investment. And the cotton crop of Crossland & Everett last year was sold for more than \$40,000.

There are cotton plantations in Alabama, the delta of Mississippi, and portions of Texas and Georgia that include as much as 30,000 acres under one management. These large plantations are conducted with perfect system, and, necessarily, in the most business-like manner. Every item of expense, even to the wear and tear of a wagon or the life of a mule or a horse, is accounted for by a system of book-keeping. Perhaps several commissaries are maintained, where the laborers get their necessities. One of these great farms employs a small army of men and women, and the year's profits, if the price for the staple is good, would provoke the envy of successful business men of the large cities.

From what has been said, however, the reader should not infer that the bulk of our cotton crop is grown on great plantations, as such is not the case. The average southern farmer produces only about ten bales per year. Other crops are grown, of course, in addition to cotton. It is this small farmer, with 50 to 200 acres to call his own, living under his own vine and figtree, working himself, and with children large enough to do most of the hoeing and picking, who is getting in the fullest degree the new-found wealth in cotton growing that means so much to the prosperity of the South.

Average
farms.

Probably most persons outside the South think that negroes grow most of our cotton crop; but this is by no means true. Of the 1,418,000 cotton farms reported in 1900, 849,000 were operated by whites. White farmers cultivated 14,616,000 acres, and negro farmers 9,650,000 acres. The whites owned 58 per cent. of the farms operated by them, while the percentage of colored owners was only 19. "Clearly the central feature of the southern farm life of the negro race," says Prof. W. E. DuBois, "is the tenant class—this half-million black men who hire farms on various terms, and a large proportion of whom stand about midway between slavery and ownership."

Negro
labor.

The average negro farmer of the more thriftless sort can hardly be said to be even "half way between slavery and ownership." Under the crop-lien law, at the beginning of each season he mortgages his yet unplanted crop to the merchant in order to get supplies to live on through the year. Then his recklessness, coupled with the exorbitant rate of interest, leads him to buy more than his crop pays for; and the usual condition of the merchants' books at marketing time has been pretty accurately set forth in the popular negro couplet:

"Naught's a naught; figger's a figger:
All for the white man, and none for the nigger."

The next year this story is repeated, and the next, and the next. But now the crop mortgage is disappearing rapidly

before the advancing prices of cotton. Many white farmers, as well as colored, have been the slaves of this crop-lien system. "And the pathos of the lien-farmer," as has been well said, "is that he is always only twelve months from freedom. Better that he should eat one coarse meal a day, and wear his cheap clothes to the last frazzle of decency, and, by one unremitting struggle, break his chains."

Successful
negro
cotton-
growers.

But not all the negroes are of the impoverished class. The first bale of cotton marketed in North Carolina this year was grown by a negro, and, for the last seven years, the first bale of Georgia cotton has come from the farm of Deal Jackson, Dougherty County's leading negro cotton grower. His story is an interesting one. Eighteen years ago, he borrowed \$1,000 to buy a run-down farm, giving a mortgage on the place as security. He has since made purchases of adjacent farms, and now has 2,000 acres of the most fertile land in Georgia. He and his family run nine plows, and his tenants thirty-six.

Ginning
and baling
cotton.

Until Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin in 1793, the work of separating the seed of upland cotton from the lint was done entirely by hand; and it is said that the most expert picker could not clean more than three to five pounds of seed cotton a day. The essential features of the Whitney gin have never been supplanted or improved upon; but, in recent years, gin manufacturers have perfected the machinery, until the modern gin sucks the seed cotton from the farm wagon, divides the lint and the seed, and returns the lint cotton baled, with its seed separated, to the same wagon within an hour. These new gins have an average capacity of thirty bales a day. Under the old system, the completion of two bales in a day was regarded as an achievement.

After the lint cotton is separated from the seed, it is packed in bales of an average weight of about 500 pounds. Endless trouble to shippers and exporters has been caused by the utter lack of uniformity in the size of cotton bales. There is great need of a better baling system. Mr. Edward Atkinson, one of our highest American authorities on cotton

subjects, has declared that cotton is "the most barbarously handled commercial product in the world." Besides the lack of uniformity in the size of the bales, gins at present are able to pack cotton to the average density of only fourteen pounds per cubic foot. Every bale not sold to local mills, therefore, must be sent to some cotton compress and the size reduced two-thirds before it can be exported.

The round-lap cylindrical bale, introduced a few years ago, was hailed by many as filling the long-felt want for a better system; but the beginning of the end came recently when the company that owns the patent was thrown into the hands of a receiver, with liabilities much in excess of the assets. The round bale failed, partly because the world had been too long accustomed to the square form to take kindly to a change; partly because round bales do not pack so compactly as square bales, just as logs require more space than plank; and partly because the company which owned the round-bale presses threatened to create a monopoly, only leasing its machinery, and refusing to sell it outright on any terms.

Just now another baling system—the Whitman—is coming into prominence, but not enough is known of it as yet to justify a final word as to its merits. Its promoters claim that it packs cotton at the gin to such density as to do away with the necessity for recompressing. This company proposes to sell its machinery outright, thus avoiding the blunder of the round-lap promoters.

In marketing the cotton crop, there has been in recent years a marvellous gain in directness and economy. Formerly, the farmer sold to his merchant at the nearest town; the merchant sold to the commission merchant in the city; the commission merchant sold to the dealer at the seaport; the seaport dealer sold to the New York exporter; the New York exporter sold to Liverpool; and Liverpool sold to Manchester. Now all this is changed—how greatly changed will be seen from the report of a cotton-exporting house which handles more than 300,000 bales each season.

Market-
ing cotton.

"The old method of the planters, of consigning their cotton to factors for sale," said the manager of an exporting house, "is almost wholly abolished, intermediary charges having been gradually overcome through competition, and the producer and the consumer are thus brought closer together; and the farmer gets the benefit of this advantage. The cotton is now bought on the plantations, or at the railway stations, throughout the whole cotton belt, by the representatives of large exporting houses and by the mills. Our firm employs more than one hundred buyers for this purpose, and the cotton is shipped daily to the port, where it is expeditiously sampled, classified, weighed, compressed, and loaded upon ships for foreign ports, with almost incredible swiftness. We have had a train loaded with cotton fifty miles from port at seven in the morning, and by seven o'clock of the same day—in the evening—it has been stowed on board a foreign ship and bills of exchange drawn and negotiated!"

Possibility
of growing
more
cotton.

The general opinion in the South is that we have now entered on a long era of high prices for cotton, and that the supply is not likely to become large enough to depress them to their former level. The South might increase its acreage, but the scarcity of labor makes this impracticable. Texas and Mexico might add much to the total supply, but the boll-weevil now stands in the way of any considerable increase there. Mr. Edward Atkinson predicts that, for fifty years to come, the South will have a virtual monopoly of the world's cotton supply. During the Civil War Mr. Atkinson imported cotton from every foreign country now mentioned as a probable competitor of the South, and his verdict is that all were found wanting.

Waste in
cotton
culture.

There are yet many wastes in cotton culture. One waste, which went on for a full century and has not yet been completely stopped, was the waste of cotton seed. The farmers used to realize only \$5,000,000 a year from their cotton seed; now they receive \$100,000,000. Another waste is in the reckless use of commercial fertilizers, and another

the even more reckless selection of seed for planting. Still another waste, likely to have attention now, is the total loss of unopened bolls. By threshing these in parts of Texas last year nearly \$2,000,000 was added to the value of the crop. If it is possible to invent an effective cotton-picker, then it is fair to assume that we are wasting \$50,000,000 yearly in depending on hand labor for this work. Millions, too, are wasted by the use of inefficient tools, and millions more through unwise methods of cultivation and failure to rotate crops. The cotton boll-weevil also threatens a loss of hundreds of millions if not checked. Lastly, we are still shipping 60 per cent. of our cotton to Europe—almost as uneconomic, as has been said, as it would be to ship our iron ore instead of turning it into the finished product here.

The market for cotton products will continue to increase. They will probably increase until every acre of tillable land in the South may be profitably cultivated; and these States will realize, in a different way, the kingship of cotton that the Old South dreamed of. Fifty years ago, the whole world produced only about 3,000,000 bales (little more than the present product of Texas!). This year, the world's product is 15,000,000 bales. This 15,000,000 will become 20,000,000 within a few decades; and half this vast product will probably be grown, spun, and woven in the South. The economic significance of this reasonable prediction is simply this—that no other part of the world will become so rich from an agricultural product.

In this article, nothing has been said about the enormous value of the by-products of the cotton plant. Nor have the southern cotton mills been described; yet more cotton is now spun in the South than in the North.

104. CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

On May 13, 1908, upon the invitation of President Roosevelt, the governors of the several States and large numbers of national officials came together at the White House for a conference on the conservation of natural resources. The extract given is from the address of President Roosevelt on that occasion.—(Conference of Governors on the Conservation of Natural Resources, May 13–15, 1908, pp. 3 *passim*, 60th Congress, 2d Session, 1908–9. House Documents, Vol. CXXVIII.)

Members
of the
confer-
ence.

Governors of the several States; and gentlemen: I welcome you to this conference at the White House. You have come hither at my request so that we may join together to consider the question of the conservation and use of the great fundamental sources of wealth in this nation. So vital is this question, that for the first time in our history the chief executive officers of the States separately, and of the States together forming the nation, have met to consider it. . . .

With the Governors come men from each State chosen for their special acquaintance with the terms of the problem that is before us. Among them are experts in natural resources and representatives of national organizations concerned in the development and use of these resources; the Senators and Representatives in Congress; the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and the Inland Waterways Commission have likewise been invited to the conference, which is therefore national in a peculiar sense.

Importance of
the
problem.

This conference on the conservation of natural resources is in effect a meeting of the representatives of all the people of the United States called to consider the weightiest problem now before the Nation; and the occasion for the meeting lies in the fact that the natural resources of our country are in danger of exhaustion if we permit the old wasteful methods of exploiting them longer to continue.

With the rise of peoples from savagery to civilization, and with the consequent growth in the extent and variety of the needs of the average man, there comes a steadily increasing

growth in the amount demanded by this average man from the actual resources of the country, and yet, rather curiously, at the same time that there comes that increase in what the average man demands from the resources he is apt to lose the sense of his dependence upon nature. . . .

Every step of the progress of mankind is marked by the discovery and use of natural resources previously unused. Without such progressive knowledge and utilization of natural resources population could not grow, nor industries multiply, nor the hidden wealth of the earth be developed for the benefit of mankind.

From the first beginnings of civilization, on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, the industrial progress of the world has gone on slowly, with occasional set-backs, but on the whole steadily, through tens of centuries to the present day. . . . But of late the rapidity of the progress has increased at such a rate that more space has been actually covered during the century and a quarter occupied by our national life than during the preceding six thousand years that take us back to the earliest monuments of Egypt, to the earliest cities of the Babylonian plain.

Intensity
of present
era.

When the founders of this nation met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia the conditions of commerce had not fundamentally changed from what they were when the Phœnician keels first furrowed the lonely waters of the Mediterranean. . . . Mining was carried on fundamentally as it had been carried on by the Pharaohs in the countries adjacent to the Red Sea. . . .

In 1776, the wares of the merchants of Boston, of Charleston, like the wares of the merchants of Nineveh and Sidon, if they went by water, were carried by boats propelled by sails or oars; if they went by land were carried in wagons drawn by beasts of draught or in packs on the backs of beasts of burden. The ships that crossed the high seas were better than the ships that three thousand years before crossed the Ægean, but they were of the same type, after all—they were wooden ships propelled by sails. . . . On land, the roads

at the end of the eighteenth century were not as good as the roads of the Roman Empire, while the service of the posts was probably inferior.

In Washington's time anthracite coal was known only as a useless black stone; and the great fields of bituminous coal were undiscovered. As steam was unknown, the use of coal for power production was undreamed of. Water was practically the only source of power, save the labor of men and animals; and this power was used only in the most primitive fashion. But a few small iron deposits had been found in this country, and the use of iron by our countrymen was very small. Wood was practically the only fuel, and what lumber was sawed was consumed locally, while the forests were regarded chiefly as obstructions to settlement and cultivation. . . .

Such was the degree of progress to which civilized mankind had attained when this nation began its career. It is almost impossible for us in this day to realize how little our Revolutionary ancestors knew of the great store of natural resources whose discovery and use have been such vital factors in the growth and greatness of this nation, and how little they required to take from this store in order to satisfy their needs.

Growth of
the nation
and de-
struction
of natural
resources.

Since then our knowledge and the use of the resources of the present territory of the United States have increased a hundred-fold. Indeed, the growth of this nation by leaps and bounds makes one of the most striking and important chapters in the history of the world. Its growth has been due to the rapid development, and alas that it should be said! to the rapid destruction of our natural resources. Nature has supplied to us in the United States, and still supplies to us, more kinds of resources in a more lavish degree than has ever been the case at any other time or with any other people. Our position in the world has been attained by the extent and thoroughness of the control we have achieved over nature; but we are more, and not less, dependent upon what she furnishes than at any previous time of history since the days of primitive man.

Yet our fathers, though they knew so little of the resources of the country, exercised a wise forethought in reference thereto. Washington clearly saw that the perpetuity of the States could only be secured by union, and that the only feasible basis of union was an economic one; in other words, that it must be based on the development and use of their natural resources. Accordingly, he helped to outline a scheme of commercial development, and by his influence an interstate waterways commission was appointed by Virginia and Maryland.

Washington and interstate commerce.

It met near where we are now meeting, in Alexandria, adjourned to Mount Vernon, and took up the consideration of interstate commerce by the only means then available, that of water. Further conferences were arranged, first at Annapolis and then at Philadelphia. It was in Philadelphia that the representatives of all the States met for what was in its original conception merely a waterways conference; but when they had closed their deliberations the outcome was the Constitution which made the States into a nation. . . .

Since the days when the Constitution was adopted, steam and electricity have revolutionized the industrial world. Nowhere has the revolution been so great as in our own country. The discovery and utilization of mineral fuels and alloys have given us the lead over all other nations in the production of steel. The discovery and utilization of coal and iron have given us our railways, and have led to such industrial development as has never before been seen. The vast wealth of lumber in our forests, the riches of our soils and mines, the discovery of gold and mineral oils, combined with the efficiency of our transportation, have made the conditions of our life unparalleled in comfort and convenience. . . .

Influence of steam and electricity.

The steadily increasing drain on these natural resources has promoted to an extraordinary degree the complexity of our industrial and social life. Moreover, this unexampled development has had a determining effect upon the character

Drain on natural resources.

and opinions of our people. The demand for efficiency in the great task has given us vigor, effectiveness, decision, and power, and a capacity for achievement which in its own lines has never yet been matched. So great and so rapid has been our material growth that there has been a tendency to lag behind in spiritual and moral growth; but that is not the subject upon which I speak to you to-day.

Disregarding for the moment the question of moral purpose, it is safe to say that the prosperity of our people depends directly on the energy and intelligence with which our natural resources are used. It is equally clear that these resources are the final basis of national power and perpetuity. Finally, it is ominously evident that these resources are in the course of rapid exhaustion.

This nation began with the belief that its landed possessions were illimitable and capable of supporting all the people who might care to make our country their home; but already the limit of unsettled land is in sight, and, indeed, but little land fitted for agriculture now remains unoccupied, save what can be reclaimed by irrigation and drainage. We began with an unapproached heritage of forests; more than half of the timber is gone. We began with coal fields more extensive than those of any other nation, and with iron ores regarded as inexhaustible, and many experts now declare that the end of both iron and coal is in sight.

The mere increase in our consumption of coal during 1907 over 1906 exceeded the total consumption in 1876, the centennial year. The enormous stores of mineral, oils, and gas are largely gone. Our natural waterways are not gone, but they have been so injured by neglect, and by the division of responsibility and utter lack of system in dealing with them, that there is less navigation on them now than there was fifty years ago. Finally, we began with soils of unexampled fertility, and we have so impoverished them by injudicious use and by failing to check erosion that their crop-producing power is diminishing instead of increasing. In a word, we have thoughtlessly, and to a large degree unnecessarily,

Limits of
public
lands and
other re-
sources.

Soils
impover-
ished.

diminished the resources upon which not only our prosperity but the prosperity of our children must always depend.

We have become great because of the lavish use of our resources, and we have just reason to be proud of our growth. But the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil, and the gas are exhausted, when the soils shall have been still further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields, and obstructing navigation. These questions do not relate only to the next century, or to the next generation. It is time for us now as a nation to exercise the same reasonable foresight in dealing with our great natural resources that would be shown by any prudent man in conserving and widely using the property which contains the assurance of well-being for himself and his children. . . .

What will happen when resources are exhausted.

The natural resources I have enumerated can be divided into two sharply distinguished classes accordingly as they are, or are not capable of renewal. Mines, if used, must necessarily be exhausted. The minerals do not and can not renew themselves. Therefore, in dealing with the coal, the oil, the gas, the iron, the metals generally, all that we can do is to try to see that they are wisely used. The exhaustion is certain to come in time. . . .

Classes of resources.

The second class of resources consists of those which can not only be used in such manner as to leave them undiminished for our children, but can actually be improved by wise use. The soil, the forests, the waterways come in this category. . . . In dealing with mineral resources, man is able to improve on nature only by putting the resources to a beneficial use which in the end exhausts them; but in dealing with the soil and its products man can improve on nature by compelling the resources to renew and even reconstruct themselves in such manner as to serve increasingly beneficial uses—while the living waters can be so controlled as to multiply their benefits.

Neither the primitive man nor the pioneer was aware of

The
pioneer
and
natural
resources.

any duty to posterity in dealing with the renewable resources. When the American settler felled the forests, he felt that there was plenty of forest left for the sons who came after him. When he exhausted the soil of his farm he felt that his son could go west and take up another. . . . So it was with his immediate successors. When the soil-wash from the farmer's fields choked the neighboring rivers he thought only of using the railway rather than boats for moving his produce and supplies. . . .

Condi-
tions
to-day.

Now all this is changed. On the average the son of the farmer of to-day must make his living on his father's farm. There is no difficulty in doing this if the father will exercise wisdom. No wise use of a farm exhausts its fertility. So with the forests. We are over the verge of a timber famine in this country, and it is unpardonable for the nation or the States to permit any further cutting of our timber, save in accordance with a system which will provide that the next generation shall see the timber increased instead of diminished.

We can, moreover, add enormous tracts of the most valuable possible agricultural lands to the national domain by irrigation in the arid and semi-arid and by drainage of great tracts of swamp land in the humid regions. We can enormously increase our transportation facilities by the canalization of our rivers so as to complete a great system of waterways on the Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf coasts, and in the Mississippi valley, from the Great Plains to the Alleghenies, and from the northern lakes to the mouth of the mighty Father of Waters. But all these various uses of our natural resources are so clearly connected that they should be co-ordinated, and should be treated as part of one coherent plan, and not in haphazard and piecemeal fashion.

Water-
ways
commis-
sion.

It is largely because of this that I appointed the Waterways Commission last year, and that I have sought to perpetuate its work. I wish to take this opportunity to express in heartiest fashion my acknowledgment to all the members of the Commission. At great personal sacrifice of time and

effort they have rendered a service to the public for which we can not be too grateful. Especial credit is due to the initiative, the energy, the devotion to duty, and the far-sightedness of Gifford Pinchot, to whom we owe so much of the progress we have already made in handling this matter of the coördination and conservation of natural resources. If it had not been for him this convention neither would nor could have been called.

We are coming to recognize as never before the right of the nation to guard its own future in the essential matter of natural resources. In the past we have admitted the right of the individual to injure the future of the republic for his own present profit. The time has come for a change. As a people, we have the right and the duty, second to none other but the right and duty of obeying the moral law, of requiring and doing justice, to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources, whether that waste is caused by the actual destruction of such resources or by making them impossible of development hereafter.

Duty of
the nation.

Any right-thinking father earnestly desires and strives to leave his son both an untarnished name and a reasonable equipment for the struggle of life. So this nation, as a whole, should earnestly desire and strive to leave to the next generation the national honor unstained and the national resources unexhausted. There are signs that both the nation and the States are waking to a realization of this great truth. On March 10, 1908, the Supreme Court of Maine rendered an exceedingly important judicial decision. This opinion was rendered in response to questions as to the right of the Legislature to restrict the cutting of trees on private land for the prevention of droughts and floods, the preservation of the natural water supply, and the prevention of the erosion of such lands, and the consequent filling up of rivers, ponds, and lakes. The forests and water power of Maine constitute the larger part of her wealth and form the basis of her industrial life, and the question submitted by the Maine Sen-

Notable
case in
Maine.

ate to the Supreme Court and the answer of the Supreme Court alike bear testimony to the wisdom of the people of Maine, and clearly define a policy of conservation of natural resources, the adoption of which is of vital importance, not merely to Maine, but to the whole country.

Policy of
preservation.

Such a policy will preserve soil, forests, water power as a heritage for the children and the children's children of the men and women of this generation; for any enactment that provides for the wise utilization of forest, whether in public or private ownership, and for the conservation of the water resources of the country, must necessarily be legislation that will promote both private and public welfare; for flood prevention, water-power development, preservation of the soil, and improvement of navigable rivers are all promoted by such a policy of forest conservation.

The opinion of the Maine supreme bench sets forth unequivocally the principle that the property rights of the individual are subordinate to the rights of the community, and especially that the waste of wild timber land derived originally from the State, involving as it would the impoverishment of the State and its people, and thereby defeating one great purpose of government, may properly be prevented by State restrictions.

Right to
limit use
of private
property.

The court says that there are two reasons why the right of the public to control and limit the use of private property is peculiarly applicable to property in land: "First, such property is not the result of productive labor, but is derived solely from the State itself, the original owner; second, the amount of land being incapable of increase, if the owners of large tracts can waste them at will without State restriction, the State and its people may be helplessly impoverished and the one great purpose of government defeated. . . . We do not think the proposed legislation would operate to 'take' private property within the inhibition of the Constitution. While it might restrict the owner of wild and uncultivated lands in his use of them, might delay his taking some of the product, might delay his anticipated profits and even might

thereby cause him some loss of profit, it would nevertheless leave him his lands, their product and increase, untouched, and without diminution of title, estate or quantity. He would still have large measure of control and large opportunities to realize values. He might suffer delay but not privation. . . . The proposed legislation . . . would be within the legislative power and would not operate as a taking of private property for which compensation must be made."

The Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey has adopted a similar view, which has recently been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. In delivering the opinion of the court on April 6, 1908, Mr. Justice Holmes said:

"The State as quasi-sovereign and representative of the interests of the public has a standing in court to protect the atmosphere, the water, and the forests within its territory, irrespective of the assent or dissent of the private owners of the land most immediately concerned. . . . It appears to us that few public interests are more obvious, indisputable, and independent of particular theory than the interest of the public of a State to maintain the rivers that are wholly within it substantially undiminished, except by such drafts upon them as the guardian of the public welfare may permit for the purpose of turning them to a more perfect use. This public interest is omnipresent wherever there is a State, and grows more pressing as population grows. . . . We are of opinion, further, that the constitutional power of the State to insist that its natural advantages shall remain unimpaired by its citizens is not dependent upon any nice estimate of the extent of present use or speculation as to future needs. The legal conception of the necessary is apt to be confined to somewhat rudimentary wants, and there are benefits from a great river that might escape a lawyer's view. The State, however, is not required to submit even to an æsthetic analysis. Any analysis may be inadequate. It finds itself in possession of what all admit to be a great public good, and what it has it may keep and give no one a reason for its will."

Decision
of the
Supreme
Court of
the United
States.

These decisions reach the root of the idea of the conservation of our resources in the interests of our people.

105. THE INAUGURATION OF WOODROW WILSON AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 4, 1913

On November 3, 1912, Woodrow Wilson, who was at the time governor of the State of New Jersey, was elected President of the United States. President Wilson was the candidate of the Democratic party. His chief opponents for the office were William Howard Taft, representing the Republican party, and Theodore Roosevelt, candidate of the Progressive party.—The account of the inaugural ceremonies here given appeared in the *Chicago Record-Herald* for March 5, 1913.

INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

At five minutes to 12 Carl Loeffler, one of the assistant doorkeepers, caused a sigh in the galleries by setting the Senate clock back a half hour. The Senate still had business to attend to before it was declared adjourned sine die. . . .

Senator Warren announced that the committee appointed by the Senate to act with a like committee from the House to wait on the President and ask him if he had any further message to send to Congress had fulfilled its duty, and had to report that:

“President Taft has no further communication to make to Congress.”

The first two words were accented.

Here, in thrilling fashion, those privileged to see the inauguration at close range had it borne to them that the end of an administration was at hand—that a President was passing; that a Republican President was about to turn over the ship of state to the man who had defeated him before the electorate. . . .

The clock cannot be turned backward forever.

Suddenly the whole situation changes. Without a formal word the affairs of legislation are dropped. There comes to the secretary's desk a resolution expressing the thanks of the

Senate for the services rendered during the session by the president pro tempore duet—Gallinger of New Hampshire and Bacon of Georgia. It is adopted and Poindexter perfunctorily resumes his talk on extraneous affairs. . . .

In a lull the sergeant-at-arms proceeds halfway down the center aisle, immediately is recognized by the president pro tempore and announces:

"The speaker and members of the House of Representatives of the United States."

The House has adjourned sine die and has forced itself on the tardy Senate to cut short the delayed work. Speaker Clark moves down the aisle and takes a seat with the presiding officer of the Senate. Just behind comes "Uncle Joe" Cannon, the czar who was, carrying his coat on his arm.

The Senate arises as the members of the House file in, not by one door, but by three. It is 11:55 by the clock, which is a half-hour overdue. . . .

"Ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary to the United States," announces the sergeant-at-arms, bowing low, and down the aisle in dazzling uniforms, their breasts covered with medals and insignia of orders, come the men who represent the other governments of the earth, great and small, at the American capital.

Leading the gold-embroidered galaxy is M. Jusserand, ambassador from France; next to him is the Right Honorable James Bryce, O. M., ambassador from Great Britain; next is Count von Bernstorff, ambassador from Germany; Youssouf Zia Pacha, ambassador from Turkey, follows, presenting a front of embroidery that looks like a solid shield of gold, across which is worn a broad green sash.

The Russian ambassador, George Bakhmeteff, is strikingly arrayed in white trousers, with the regulation gold habiliments adorning his upper person.

Most striking of all is the Italian ambassador, the Marquis Cusani Confalonieri, whose gold embroidery is limited, but whose uniform from head to foot is of brightest red. It is the uniform of the Knights of Malta. On his breast he wears

many medals and jewels bestowed upon him by various governments.

Jeffersonian simplicity is foreign to the courts of Europe and to the diplomats as a whole who represent their rulers at the American capital, and the foreign ambassadors and ministers in all their glory are part and parcel of inaugural and other ceremonious events taking place at the seat of the United States government.

"The chief justice and the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States," announces the sergeant-at-arms at the next rap of the gavel.

Again the members of the Senate and others on the floor rise in their places. Nine solemn, black-robed interpreters of the law move impressively down the aisle. As they reach the front the chief justice and others in turn bow to the presiding officer. The Senate is seated for another brief moment.

Now it is 12:01 by the belated clock. The stir at the main entrance indicates the approach of the new administration in physical form. Now the sergeant-at-arms advances and announces:

"The Vice President-elect of the United States."

Escorted by Senators Crane and Bacon and followed by the other members of the Congressional committee on inaugural arrangements, Thomas R. Marshall proceeds down the center aisle and is seated in the seal-brown leather chair placed just below and to the right of the presiding officer's dais.

Meanwhile the members of the retiring Taft cabinet have entered the chamber unannounced from the marble room in the rear and have taken seats adjoining those occupied by members of the diplomatic corps. There are not enough seats to go around, however, and Secretary of the Interior Fisher democratically squats on the steps leading to the Secretary's desk. . . .

And now the thrilling entrance is at hand. A bevy of gold-laced aides appears in the doorway and the galleries are breathless as the sergeant-at-arms proclaims:

"The President of the United States; the President-elect of the United States."

Not a cheer, not a ripple of applause greets the entrance of the old and the new. The outbursts of enthusiasm are for another place. Here in the Senate chamber all is solemn and formal.

Preceded by the aides, the retiring and incoming Presidents proceed to the seats set for them facing the body of the chamber at slow, almost funeral gait. President Taft is on the right of the President-elect. . . .

Without further ceremony or announcement, as soon as those on the Senate floor have resumed their seats following the entry of the President and President-elect and just as if there had been a rehearsal in advance, as in the case of fashionable weddings, the Vice President-elect arises, faces the president pro tempore, raises high his right hand and takes the oath of his new office. . . .

A second later the gavel was in the hands of the new Vice President, the Senate of a new Congress was called to order and all, on the Senate floor and in the galleries alike, arose as Vice President Marshall said:

"Let us reverently attend while the chaplain invokes the blessing of our God and Father upon us."

As soon as the prayer was finished the Vice President delivered his inaugural address. After that the new senators and senators who had been re-elected for another term were sworn in and then the procession was formed for the march to the east front of the capitol, where the oath of office was to be administered to President Wilson. . . .

What a scene it was that greeted the eye of the person stepping from the rotunda of the great capitol building to the expansive stand erected for the inaugural ceremonies! A broad, red-carpeted, inclined aisle led from the main door of the capitol to the stand upon which the presidential oath was to be administered and from which the new President was to deliver his inaugural address.

On either side were seats reserved for the senators and

members of the House and for their guests who had been admitted to the Senate galleries to witness the carrying out of the first part of the impressive programme. On either side were titanic stands already peopled by thousands of spectators.

In the acre or two immediately fronting the presidential stand were the future admirals of the navy and generals of the army—the cadets from the military academy at West Point in dashing grey, and the cadets from the naval academy at Annapolis wrapped in their dull blue overcoats.

In the vast expanse of the plaza beyond was the multitude, the assemblage of plain American people there to witness a historic event and to hear their own cheers, if not the spoken words of the inaugural message.

The roofs of the Senate and House wings of the capitol were crowded with spectators. . . .

At 1:09 o'clock, correct time, four members of the capitol police force led the march from the Senate chamber down the broad carpeted aisle of the inaugural stand. Behind them came the chief justice of the United States and the associate justices of the Supreme Court. Behind them came the military and naval aides of the President, preceding the President and the President-elect walking abreast.

While the crowd in front was cheering the incoming President the crowd on the stands on the sides was paying attention to other figures forming part of the procession.

The Senate filed in from the capitol, followed by members of the Taft cabinet, who took seats in the front row of the main stand on the right-hand side. The diplomats took seats in front on the left. The members of the House took seats on one side of the aisle and the members of the Senate on the other.

At 1:36 by the watch the new President rose and, facing the chief justice, placed his hand on the Bible and took the following oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will, to the best

of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Bending forward, President Wilson reverently kissed the book of God. Former President Taft waved his hat by way of warning to the crowd not to cheer until the solemn ceremonial had been completed. . . .

It was a short message which the President delivered, and as no man could make himself heard more than a comparatively few feet away in such a setting, the cheers and applause that greeted some of the striking statements were not what they would have been had the address been delivered in a public hall.

The reference to the tariff evoked cheers that showed the demand for thorough revision on the part of a large element of the population as represented by the visitors to the Democratic inauguration.

Cries of "Good!" arose when in the next to the concluding paragraph of his address the President declared:

"I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side."

As he uttered the last words of his address the President turned to receive the hand-grasp of Vice President Marshall, who had come to the stand after leading the members of the Senate to their places on the platform. Mr. Bryan then shook his hand, and former President Taft addressed him for the first time as President.

Tremendous cheers for Bryan were given as the latter left the stand and made his way back over the platform to the capitol. . . .

It was now President Wilson and former President Taft. As the way was being cleared for the carriage to draw up to the stand and take the President and former President on the return trip to the White House, ex-President Taft relaxed.

No longer did the burdens of state rest heavily upon him. He seemed to exude gladness that the official life to which he never expects to return was over. He seemed to feel

like a boy—like one who suddenly feels no restraint of position.

As a citizen he could laugh and talk and joke, not with that lurking feeling of responsibility in the background that is felt when a chief executive laughs and talks and jokes, but just as plain Bill Taft, or Dr. Taft, if you will, who soon will be engaged in the work of teaching constitutional law to young men of the land and not upholding it in an official capacity. . . .

INAUGURAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice President have been put into the hands of Democrats.

What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view.

Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister.

Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our

own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life. . . .

We see in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men.

It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering and set the weak in the way of strength and hope.

We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded.

With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient.

We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through.

The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up

out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great government went many deep secret things which were too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes.

The great government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes; and those who used it had forgotten the people. . . .

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it.

There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been, "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves.

We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great. . . .

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered, and here are some of the chief items:

A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation and makes the government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests;

A banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits;

An industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country;

A body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs;

Watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing, without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine.

We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals. . . .

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice.

There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control or singly cope with.

Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or

weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves.

Sanitary laws, pure food laws and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency. . . .

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right.

This is the high enterprise of the new day: to lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right.

It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy.

We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they cannot tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto. . . .

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil.

The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one.

We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters,

whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do.

Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try?

I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side.

God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

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